LIVY

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION

IN FOURTEEN VOLUMES

XIV

SUMMARIES, FRAGMENTS, AND OBSEQUENS

TRANSLATED BY

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WITH A GENERAL INDEX TO LIVY BY

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CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS

HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS

LONDON

WILLIAM HEINEMANN LTD

MCMLXVII

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LIVY

XIV

SUMMARIES, FRAGMENTS,
AND OBSEQUENS

GENERAL INDEX

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Printed 1959
Revised and reprinted 1967

Printed in Great Britain

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MAPS—

1. SPAIN *At end*
2. CITY OF ROME

TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE

THE Periochae, or Summaries, and Obsequens are based for their text on Rossbach (Leipzig, Teubner, 1910). The Oxyrhynchus Summaries have been inserted after the more familiar Summaries of the same Books; the comparison of the two Summaries for such Books as appear in both collections will be found to be of interest. However, a few very scanty fragments from the end of the Oxyrhynchus papyrus will be found by themselves, following the Summary of Book CXLII.

The attempt has been made to give a fairly full report on the text of the traditional Summaries. For the Oxyrhynchus Summaries, the critical notes cover only those additions or corrections to the MS. which seem either to Rossbach or to the present editor to be problematical; the numerous additions made by scholars to the broken text are indicated, but for the names of the scholars to whom these emendations should be credited, the reader is referred to Rossbach.

References in the footnotes to the Summaries are intended to set these scraps of Livy's history in some amount of context, comprising both the extant primary sources and the historical narratives (including Plutarch's biographies) which are better pre-

served than Livy. An attempt has been made to provide cross references, not only between Summaries, but between Summaries, Fragments, and Obsequens; but the reader is warned not to trust the editor too far, if complete collection of information on a specific point is desired. In some of the cross references, the Oxyrhynchus Summaries are referred to as " O ", with the number of the Book following, *e.g.*, O–LII.

The fragments are based on the collections of Weissenborn (Leipzig, Teubner, 1851, reprinted in 1911), Martin Hertz (Leipzig, Tauchnitz, 1863), and H. J. Mueller (Berlin, Weidmann, 1881). At the cost of some clumsiness, the numbering of the Weissenborn series has been maintained, in the hope that, with the appended table of changes in numbering in Hertz' edition, references elsewhere to the fragments of Livy could be found conveniently in this volume. It will be obvious that very few critical notes have been included for the text of the fragments, in the belief that reference to the sources cited will suffice the reader who wishes to scrutinize the text closely.

The present editor considers that a fragment of Livy should consist of a quotation from a lost, not an extant, book, and should probably, if not certainly, refer to Livy's own language, not simply make use of Livy's facts. If the reader prefers a somewhat broader definition, the notes on what the preceding editors have included as fragments may be useful.

For the grammarians' fragments, reference is given to the *Grammatici Latini* of Keil (Leipzig, Teubner, 1857–80; cited as K). Charisius will be found in the first volume, Priscian in the second and third, the anonymous writer in the fifth, and Agroecius and Beda in the seventh.

The present editor has not seen Hertz' discussion *De fragmentis T. Livi commentarium* (Bratislava, 1864).

In the critical notes on Obsequens, the reader's indulgence is asked for an idiosyncrasy—namely, that the symbol " MS." is used, although the only source of our text is the Aldine *editio princeps*. The intention was to avoid creating a new symbol; and since Rossbach thinks that the text was not much studied or emended before printing, there may be some propriety in the symbol used.

The notes on Obsequens may give a lead to those whose curiosity, like the editor's, is piqued by these oddities. Book II of Pliny's *Natural History* gathers together much of this lore.

It has seemed desirable to include maps of Spain, and of the city of Rome, since previous volumes of the L.C.L. Livy have had no occasion to show very much in these areas. The map of Spain will be particularly useful with fragment 18, the most important fragment; and the map of the city may serve to illustrate Obsequens; further light on the communities of Roman citizens mentioned in the latter will be

thrown by the maps of Italy in previous volumes of this Livy. The map of Spain is based on Kiepert's *Atlas Antiquus*; the outline of the map of Rome is based on Richter, *Topographie von Rom*, Iwan Müller's Handbuch III, Nordlingen, Beck, 1883, by kind permission of the publishers.

SIGLA MSS. PERIOCHARUM

N = (Nazarianus) Palatinus-Heidelbergensis 894, saec. ix.
B = Bernensis A 92, saec. ix.
P = Parisinus 7701, saec. xii.
Π = codex a P. Pithoeo collatus.
R = editio princeps, ca. A.D. 1469.
G = Leidensis Gronovianus 107, saec. xv.
Gu = Guelferbytanus 175, saec. xv.

ALFRED CARY SCHLESINGER

July 1, 1952
Oberlin College

LIVY

FROM THE FOUNDING OF THE CITY

SUMMARIES

T. LIVI
AB URBE CONDITA

PERIOCHAE
LIBRORUM XXXVII–XL
OXYRHYNCHEAE

col. I

[Liber XXXVII]

in Hispa]nia Romani caesi.
A.U.C. 565 M. Fulvio] Cn. Manlio coss.
Aetoli]s pax iterum nec data nec negata est.[1] P. Licinius pontif]ex maximus Q. Fabium praetorem, quod flamen Quirin]alis erat, proficisci in Sardiniam inhib]uit.[2] Antiocho regi pax data. Lusitani vastati.] Bononia colonia de s.c.[3] deducta. Acilius Glabrio] censuram petens minantibus accusa]tionem competitoribus proposito[4] destiti]t.

Liber XXXVIII

Ambra]cia capta.
Gallog]raecis in Pamphylia proelio vastatis Phrygi]a liberata. Origiacontis captiva nobilis[5]

[1] nec data nec negata est *sugg. Rossbach*: data est MS.
[2] inhibuit *sugg. Rossbach*: . . . ant MS.
[3] Bononia colonia de s.c. *Rossbach*: rhodonia desoli MS.
[4] competitoribus proposito *edd.*: compellitoribus conposito MS.
[5] captiva nobilis *Grenfell-Hunt*: captiannobilis MS.

LIVY
FROM THE FOUNDING OF THE CITY

SUMMARIES
OF BOOKS XXXVII–XL
FROM OXYRHYNCHUS

Book XXXVII

In Spain the Romans were slaughtered.[1] In the consulship of Marcus Fulvius and Gnaeus Manlius, the B.C. 189
Aetolians were for the second time neither granted nor refused peace. Publius Licinius the chief pontiff prevented Praetor Quintus Fabius from setting out for Sardinia, because he was *flamen* of Quirinus. Peace was granted to King Antiochus. The Lusitanians were ravaged. The colony of Bononia was founded in accordance with a decree of the senate. Acilius Glabrio on seeking the censorship was threatened with prosecution by his rivals and abandoned his undertaking.

Book XXXVIII

Ambracia was occupied. The Galatians in Pamphylia were crushed in battle and Phrygia was set free. Origiaco's wife,[2] a prisoner of high rank, killed a centurion

[1] The summary begins with xlvi. 7–8. The peace with Antiochus and the founding of Bononia are the only items duplicated in the other Summary.
[2] The translation follows the complete text (where the Galatian king's name is written Orgiago, genitive, Orgiagontis), rather than the unsatisfactory wording of this Summary; see critical note.

centuri]onem, cuius vim passa erat, aurum ad ⟨se⟩ mittendam] poscentem occidit caputque eius ad virum reportavit.] Campanis conubium datum e[s]t. Inter Achae]os et Lacedaemonios cruenta [pr]oelia.

A.U.C. 566 M. Messala C. L]ivio Salinatore coss. pretiosa p]raeda ex Gallograecia per Thra[eciam avecta. L. M]inucius Myrtilus et L. Manliu[s dediti legat]is Carthaginiensium, qui pulsati eran]t.

A.U.C. 567 M. Lepido C. Fl]aminio coss. P. Scipio]' Africanus a Quintis Petillis die dicta in Li]terninum [1] abit. Qui ne revocaretur, Gracchus t]rib. pl. intercessit. L. Cornelius

col. II Scipio dam[natus furti crim]ine.[2]

Liber XXXIX

Per C. Flami[nium M. Aemiliu]m coss. Ligures perdomiti. V[iae Flaminia e]t Aemilia munitae sunt. Latinorum [xii milia hom]inum coacta ab Roma re[dire. Manlius cu]m de Gallograecis in[temperate triumf]ar[et, pe]cunia quae trans[lata erat, priva]tis p[e]r[s]oluta.

A.U.C. 568 Sp. Postum⟨i⟩o [Q. Marcio co]ss. Hispala Fa[ecenia meretric]e et pupillo Aebutio, qu[em T. Sempronius] Rutilus tutor et ma[ter Duronia ci]rcumscribserant, indicium re[ferentibus Ba]ccha[nalia subla[ta in Italia. His]pani subacti. At[hletarum cert]amina primum a Fu[lvio Nobilior]e edita. Gallis in Ital[iam profectis Ma]rcellus p]ersuasit [ut domum redire]nt. L. Cornelius

[1] Literninum *edd.*: . . . tratum MS.
[2] furti crimine *Rossbach*: . . . ine *vel* . . . eni MS.

who had assaulted her, when he demanded gold for her release; and she carried his head back to her husband. The Campanians were given the right to intermarry with Romans. Bloody battles took place between the Achaeans and the Spartans.

In the consulship of Marcus Messala and Gaius Livius Salinator, the valuable booty from Galatia was brought off by way of Thrace. Lucius Minucius Myrtilus and Lucius Manlius were surrendered to the Carthaginian envoys whom they had struck. B.C. 188

In the consulship of Marcus Lepidus and Gaius Flaminius, Publius Scipio Africanus went into exile at Liternum after a day for his trial had been set by the Quinti Petillii. Gracchus, a tribune of the people, vetoed his being summoned back. Lucius Cornelius Scipio was condemned on a charge of embezzlement. B.C. 187

Book XXXIX

The Ligurians were brought to subjection by Consuls Gaius Flaminius and Marcus Aemilius. The Flaminian and Aemilian roads were built.[1] Twelve thousand Latin persons were compelled to return home from Rome. When Manlius celebrated an extravagant triumph over the Galatians, the money which was carried in the procession was entirely paid out to individuals.

In the consulship of Spurius Postumius and Quintus Marcius, on evidence given by Hispala Faecenia, a courtesan, and Aebutius, a ward, against whom his guardian Titus Sempronius Rutilus and his mother Duronia had plotted, the rites of Bacchus were abolished in Italy. The Spaniards were repressed. Contests of athletes were presented for the first time by Fulvius Nobilior. Marcellus persuaded certain Gauls, who had migrated into Italy, to return home. Lucius Cornelius B.C. 186

[1] The Aemilian Way was a continuation of the Flaminian Way properly so-called; the road built by this Flaminius was a shorter alternative to the Flaminian Way built by his father; see above, XXXIX. ii. 6.

Scipio pos[t bellum Antiochi] ludos voti-
vos conl[ata pecunia feci]t.
A.U.C. 569 Appio Claud[io M. Semproni]o coss.
Ligures fu[gati, vi oppida ab i]llis accepta.
A.U.C. 570 P. Claudio Pulchr[o L. Porcio Li]cino coss.
hominum ad ∝[∞ a Q. Naevio ven]efici damnati.
L. Quintius Fla[mininus cos. in] Gallia,
quod Philipp[o Poeno, scorto] suo, deside-
rante gladia[torium specta]culum
col. III sua manu Boiu[m nobilem occiderat,
a M. Catone [1] cen[sore senatu motus est.
Basilica [2] Porcia [facta.
A.U.C. 571 M. Claudio Marcello [Q. Fabio Labeone coss.
P. Licini Crassi po[ntificis maximi
ludis funebribus [epulum datum.
Tabernaculis po[sitis in foro id quod
vate[s c]ecin[e]rat [evenit tabernacula
in foro futura. I[n Hispania prospere
dim[icatu]m.[3] Han[nibal apud Prusiam re-
ge[m per] le[gatos Romanos expetitus
veneno pe]rit.

L[IBER XL

A.U.C. 572 L. A[emilio C]n. Baebio [coss.
in Liguras] bellum r[enovatum et Hispanos.[4]
Bella v]el lites in [Graecia et Asia composita.
Thessala] Theoxen[a cum viro filiisque
in mare [f]ugien[s se iecit. Demetrius
fictis criminibus [5] [accusatus a fratre
per patrem coactu[s venenum haurire.

[1] a M. Catone *Grenfell-Hunt*: alanatòne MS.
[2] Basilica *Grenfell-Hunt*: uastaita MS.
[3] In Hispania prospere dimicatum *Luterbacher*: in senatu de rebus exteris diiudicatum *Rossbach*.

Scipio gave games, with contributed money, in celebration of the war with Antiochus.

In the consulship of Appius Claudius and Marcus Sempronius, the Ligurians were routed and six towns were taken over from them by storm. B.C. 185

In the consulship of Publius Claudius Pulcher and Lucius Porcius Licinus, about two thousand persons were convicted by Quintus Naevius of poisoning. Lucius Quinctius Flamininus was removed from the senate by Marcus Cato, because he had, while consul in Gaul, killed with his own hand a prominent Boian, when Flamininus' minion, the Carthaginian Philip, regretted missing a gladiatorial show. The Porcian basilica was built. B.C. 184

In the consulship of Marcus Claudius Marcellus and Quintus Fabius Labeo, a banquet was given at the funeral celebration of Publius Licinius Crassus, the chief pontiff. Booths for this were placed in the forum, thus fulfilling the prophecy of a soothsayer that there would be booths in the forum. There was a successful campaign in Spain. The surrender of Hannibal was demanded at the court of Prusias by Roman envoys, and Hannibal died by poison. B.C. 183

Book XL

In the consulship of Lucius Aemilius and Gnaeus Baebius, campaigns against the Ligurians and Spaniards were again undertaken. Wars and disputes were settled in Greece and Asia. The Thessalian Theoxena, fleeing with her husband and children, cast herself into the sea. Demetrius was accused by his brother on false charges and was compelled by his father to drink poison. B.C. 182

[4] In Liguras bellum renovatum et Hispanos *Rossbach*: Hispani bellum paraverunt *Kornemann*: spectare bellum Philippus *Luterbacher*, *qui* et Romanorum satellites interficere coepit *proxima linea suppl.*
[5] fictis criminibus *Grenfell-Hunt*, *Kornemann*: ficti egri-monibus MS.

A.U.C. 573 P. Lentulo M. Baebio [coss.
in agro L. Nerylli sc[ribae libri Numae inventi.
A.U.C. 574 A. Postumio C. [Ca]lpurnio coss.
cum Liguribus His[panisque prospere pugnatum.
L. Livius trib. pl. quot [annos nati quemque magistratum pete[rent, rogavit. Annalis dictus est.
A.U.C. 575 Q. Fulvio L. Manlio c[oss.
M. Lepidi et Fulvii No[bilioris censorum composita inimicitia.[1]

[1] *Desunt* 9 *vel* 10 *columnae.*

In the consulship of Publius Lentulus and Marcus Baebius, the books of Numa were found on the property of Lucius Neryllus,[1] a clerk. B.C. 181

In the consulship of Aulus Postumius and Gaius Calpurnius, successful campaigns were conducted against the Ligurians and Spaniards. Lucius Livius,[2] tribune of the people, passed a law defining the age at which a man might stand for each office. He received the nickname Annalis. B.C. 180

In the consulship of Quintus Fulvius and Lucius Manlius, the enmity of Marcus Lepidus and Fulvius Nobilior was brought to an end at the beginning of their censorship. B.C. 179

[1] The name is given as Petilius in Book XL itself.
[2] Correctly called Villius in XL. xliv. 1.

PERIOCHAE

LIBRORUM XLVI-CXLII

A.U.C. 587–594

XLVI. Eumenes rex Romam venit, qui Macedonico bello medium egerat. Ne aut hostis iudicatus videretur, si exclusus esset, aut liberatus crimine, si admitteretur, in commune lex [1] lata est, ne cui regi Romam venire liceret. Claudius Marcellus consul Alpinos Gallos, C. Sulpicius Gallus consul Liguras subegit. Legati Prusiae regis questi sunt de Eumene, quod fines suos popularetur, dixeruntque eum conspirasse cum Antiocho adversus populum Romanum. Societas cum Rhodiis deprecantibus iuncta est. Lustrum a censoribus conditum: censa sunt civium capita $\overline{\text{CCCXXXVII}}$ [2] XXII. Princeps senatus M. Aemilius Lepidus. Ptolemaeus Aegypti rex, pulsus regno a minore fratre missis ad eum legatis restitutus est. Ariarathe, Cappadociae rege, mortuo filius eius Ariarathes regnum accepit et amicitiam cum populo Romano per legatos renovavit. Res praeterea adversus Liguras et Corsos et Lusitanos vario eventu gestas et motus Syriae mortuo Antiocho, qui filium Antiochum puerum admodum

[1] commune lex *edd.*: communem res N, P.
[2] $\overline{\text{CCCXXXVII}}$ N: $\overline{\text{CCCXXVII}}$ P, R.

[1] The summaries of these Books from Oxyrhynchus, as far as they are preserved, will be found after the summaries of the same Books belonging to the complete series.
[2] 167 B.C. Cf. Polybius XXX. 19 (20, 17).
[3] 166 B.C. Cf. the Fasti, *C.I.L.*[2] I. 1, pp. 146 and 175.
[4] 164 B.C. Cf. Polybius XXX. 30 (31. 6), who says that "envoys from Asiatic cities" accused Eumenes of making arrangements with Antiochus. The senate took no action.
[5] 164 B.C. Cf. Polybius XXX. 31 (31. 7).
[6] 164 B.C. The censors were Quintus Marcius Philippus

SUMMARIES

OF BOOKS XLVI-CXLII [1]

XLVI. King Eumenes came to Rome, after straddling in the Macedonian War. To prevent its seeming that he was adjudged an enemy, if he was shut out, or that he had been acquitted, if allowed to enter, a general regulation was passed that no king should be permitted to come to Rome.[2] Consul Claudius Marcellus defeated the Gauls of the Alps; Consul Gaius Sulpicius Gallus, the Ligurians.[3] Envoys from King Prusias complained that Eumenes was devastating Prusias' territory, and said that he had conspired with Antiochus against the Roman People.[4] An alliance with the Rhodians was entered into at their request.[5] The half-decade was formally ended by the censors. The count of citizens was three hundred and thirty-seven thousand and twenty-two. The chief of the senate was Marcus Aemilius Lepidus.[6] B.C. 167–160

Ptolemy, king of Egypt, was expelled from his kingdom by his younger brother, but was restored when an embassy was sent to the latter.[7] On the death of Ariarathes, the king of Cappadocia, his son Ariarathes succeeded to the throne and through an embassy renewed the treaty of friendship with the Roman People.[8] The book also includes campaigns conducted against the Ligurians, Corsicans, and Lusitanians with varying success, as well as an upheaval in Syria on the death of Antiochus, who

and Lucius Aemilius Paulus. For Lepidus see above, XLIII. XV. 6, and the note; also below, XLVII.
[7] 164–3 B.C. See below, XLVII; the kingdom was divided, the younger Ptolemy receiving Cyrenaica. Cf. Polybius XXXI. 17–20 (26–8, 25–7).
[8] 163 B.C. Cf. Polybius XXXI. 3 (14), and XXXII. 1.

A.U.C. 587–594 reliquerat, continet. Hunc Antiochum puerum cum Lysia tutore Demetrius Seleuci filius, qui Romae obses fuerat, clam, quia non dimittebatur, a Roma avectus [1] interemit et ipse in regnum receptus. L. Aemilius Paulus, qui Persen vicerat, mortuus.[2] Cuius tanta abstinentia fuit, ut, cum ex Hispania et ex Macedonia immensas opes rettulisset, vix ex auctione eius redactum sit, unde uxori eius dos solveretur. Pomptinae paludes a Cornelio Cethego consule, cui ea provincia evenerat, siccatae, agerque ex his factus.

A.U.C. 594–601 XLVII. Cn. Tremellio pr. multa dicta est, quod cum M. Aemilio Lepido pontifice maximo iniuriose contenderat; sacrorumque quam magistratuum ius potentius fuit. Lex de ambitu lata. Lustrum a censoribus conditum est: censa sunt civium capita CCCXXVIII CCCXVI.[3] Princeps senatus sextum [4] Aemilius Lepidus. Inter Ptolemaeos fratres, qui dissidebant, foedus ictum, ut alter Aegypto, alter Cyrenis regnaret. Ariarathes, Cappadociae rex, consilio Demetrii Syriae regis et viribus pulsus regno, a

[1] avectus *add. Rossbach*: *om.* MSS.
[2] Aemilius Paulus . . . mortuus *Frobenius*: aemilio paulo . . . mortuo N, P, H, R.
[3] CCCXVI N, P, G: CCCXIIII B; CCCXXII Gu.
[4] princeps senatus sextum *Jahn*: princeps sex MSS.

[1] The elder Antiochus died in 163 B.C. Polybius XXXI. 2 (12), 11–15 (19–23), tells a dramatic story of Demetrius' escape from Rome; he held that his place as hostage should have been taken by the son of the new king, his brother, after the death of their father.
[2] 160 B.C. Cf. Polybius XXXI. 22 (XXXII. 8); Diodorus XXXI. 25.
[3] 160 B.C
[4] 159 B.C. For Tremellius, cf. XLV. xv. 9, which records another clash with the "regulars" of the senate.

left a son Antiochus, a very young boy. This boy Antiochus and his guardian Lysias were killed by Demetrius, the son of Seleucus, who had been a hostage at Rome and had sailed away secretly, because he was not released. Demetrius was received as king.[1] Lucius Aemilius Paulus, who had conquered Perseus, died. His scrupulousness was so great that, although he had brought back vast wealth from Spain and Macedonia, the sum raised at the auction of his effects was hardly large enough to repay his wife's dowry.[2] The Pomptine Marshes were drained and made arable by Consul Cornelius Cethegus, to whom this task had been officially assigned.[3] B.C. 167–160

XLVII. A fine was imposed on Praetor Gnaeus Tremellius, because he had unlawfully opposed Marcus Aemilius Lepidus, the chief pontiff, and the claim of religion won the day over that of civil administration.[4] A law on bribery was passed.[5] The half-decade was formally ended by the censors. The number of citizens was three hundred and twenty-eight thousand, three hundred and sixteen. Aemilius Lepidus was chief of the senate for the sixth time.[6] B.C. 160–153

An agreement was made by the brothers Ptolemy, who were at odds, that one should rule Egypt, the other Cyrene.[7] Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, was expelled from his kingdom on the initiative and by the power of Demetrius, king of Syria, and was restored by the senate.[8]

[5] 159 B.C. A previous law in 181 B.C. is mentioned in XL. xix. 11. When Polybius says (VI. lvi) that bribery is a capital crime at Rome, he is perhaps referring to a feature of the law of 159.
[6] 159 B.C. It seems likely that the census figures have been confused in transmission. Lepidus' first designation as *princeps senatus* was in 179 B.C., XL. li. 1, so that this should be his fifth term. Cf. *Summary* XLVI, note 6.
[7] Cf. above, XLVI, note 7.
[8] 158 B.C. Cf. Polybius XXXII. 10–12 (L.C.L.).

A.U.C. 594–601 senatu restitutus est. Missi a senatu, qui inter Masinissam et Carthaginienses de agro iudicarent. C. Marcius consul adversus Dalmatas primum parum prospere, postea feliciter pugnavit. Cum quibus bello confligendi causa fuit, quod Illyrios, socios populi Romani, vastaverant; eandemque gentem Cornelius Nasica consul domuit. Q. Opimius consul Transalpinos Liguras, qui Massiliensium oppida [1] Antipolim et Nicaeam vastabant, subegit. Praeterea res in Hispania a compluribus parum prospere gestas continet. Consules anno quingentesimo nonagesimo octavo ab urbe condita magistratum kal. Ian.[2] inire coeperunt. Mutandi comitia causa fuit, quod Hispani rebellabant. Legati ad disceptandum inter Carthaginienses et Masinissam missi nuntiaverunt vim navalis materiae se Carthagine deprehendisse. Aliquot praetores a provinciis avaritiae nomine accusati damnati sunt.

A.U.C. 600–604 XLVIII. Lustrum a censoribus conditum est: censa sunt civium capita CCCXXIIII. Semina tertii Punici belli referuntur. Cum in finibus Carthaginiensium ingens Numidarum exercitus duce Arcobarzane Syphacis nepote

[1] oppida *Frobenius*: oppidum N, P, Π, R.
[2] kal. Ian. *add. Drakenborch*: *om.* MSS.

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[1] Cf. Appian, *African Wars* 69.

[2] Marcius (Figulus), 156 B.C. Cf. Appian, *Illyrian Wars* 11 Nasica, 155 B.C.; for his triumph, see *C.I.L.*[2] 1, 1, p. 176.

[3] 154 B.C. Cf. Polybius XXXIII. 9–10 (L.C.L.).

[4] The Lusitanians went on the warpath in 154 B.C.; the Celtiberians were stirred to revolt in 153 B.C. by Roman restrictions and the revival of treaty demands, cf. Appian, *Iberian Wars* 47.

[5] 153 B.C.; the date of Rome's founding by this reckoning is 750 B.C., as it is by that of Polybius. The adjustment of the civil year may have been necessary because the calendar had now been set in order, cf. XLIII, Appendix. While

A commission was sent by the senate to settle the ownership of territory as between Masinissa and the Carthaginians.[1] B.C. 160–153

Consul Gaius Marcius campaigned against the Dalmatians, at first without success, but later victoriously. The cause of the war with this people was that they had plundered the Illyrians, who were allies of the Roman People. Consul Cornelius Nasica subdued the Dalmatians.[2] Consul Quintus Opimius subdued the Ligurians west of the Alps, who had been ravaging Antipolis and Nicaea, towns of the Massilians.[3] The book also contains an account of the unsuccessful campaigns in Spain waged by several commanders.[4] In the five hundred and ninety-eighth year after the founding of the city, the consuls began to enter upon their office on January first. The reason for changing the elections was the uprising of the Spaniards.[5] The envoys sent to settle the dispute between the Carthaginians and Masinissa reported that they had discovered a large supply of ship timber at Carthage.[6] Several praetors were prosecuted on a charge of peculation by the provinces, and were convicted.

XLVIII. The half-decade was formally ended by the censors; there were counted three hundred and twenty-four thousand citizens.[7] An account is given of the preliminaries of the Third Punic War. When it was reported that a large army of Numidians under Arcobarzanes, the B.C. 154–150

the calendar was fast, the year had actually begun near midwinter, though the calendar gave March as the month.

[6] The summarizing process makes it seem that these envoys were those mentioned above; cf. note 1; but the dates should be 157 and 153 respectively, and there probably were two embassies according to Livy. Appian mentions only one, and may be following Polybius, while Livy also used Roman sources; cf. his stories of the relations of Rome with Perseus, XLII. xxxvi and xlviii, and with Rhodes, XLIV. xiv. 13 and the note.

[7] 154 B.C. The censors were Marcus Valerius Messalla and Gaius Cassius Longinus.

A.U.C. 600–604 diceretur esse, M. Porcius Cato suasit, ut Carthaginiensibus, qui exercitum specie contra Masinissam, re [1] contra Romanos accitum in finibus haberent, bellum indiceretur. Contra dicente P. Cornelio Nasica placuit legatos mitti Carthaginem, qui [2] specularentur quid ageretur. Castigato senatu Carthaginiensium, quod contra foedus et exercitum et navales materias haberent, pacem inter eos et Masinissam facere voluerunt, Masinissa agro, de quo lis erat, cedente. Sed Gisgo Hamilcaris filius, homo seditiosus, qui tum in magistratu erat, cum senatus pariturum se iudicio legatis dixisset, ita populum concitavit bellum adversus [3] Romanos suadendo, ut legatos quo minus violarentur fuga explicuerit. Id nuntiantes infestum iam senatum Carthaginiensibus infestiorem fecerunt. M. Porcius Cato filii in praetura mortui funus tenuissimo, ut potuit — nam pauper erat —, sumptu fecit. Andriscus, qui se Persei filium, regis quondam Macedoniae, ingenti adseveratione mentiretur, Romam missus. M. Aemilius Lepidus, qui princeps senatus sextis iam censoribus lectus erat, antequam expiraret praecepit filiis, lecto se strato linteis [4] sine purpura efferrent; in reliquum funus ne plus quam aeris decies [5] consumerent; imaginum specie, non sumptibus nobilitari magnorum virorum funera solere. De veneficiis quaesitum. Publilia et Licinia, nobiles feminae, quae viros suos consulares

[1] re *Hertz*: regem N, P, R.
[2] qui *Rossbach post Pithoei* qui ibi: quibus N, P, Π.
[3] ita populum concitavit bellum adversus *Jahn*: ita bellum concitavit adversus MSS.
[4] strato linteis *Perizonius*: strato sine linteis MSS.
[5] decies B: decus MSS: denos R: D *Orelli*.

[1] If the summary preserves Livy's order, these events were in 153 B.C. On Cato's attitude here and below, cf. Plutarch, *Marcus Cato* xxvi and xxvii.
[2] This matter is alluded to by Cicero, *De Senectute* 68, 84. It perhaps occurred in 152 B.C., and the younger Cato may have been praetor-elect.

grandson of Syphax, was in Carthaginian territory, B.C. Marcus Porcius Cato advocated that war should be 154–150 declared on the Carthaginians, because they had an army in their territory which they had brought in ostensibly against Masinissa, but actually against the Romans. After a speech in opposition by Publius Cornelius Nasica, it was voted to send an embassy to Carthage to investigate what was taking place. After rebuking the Carthaginian senate for having an army and ship timber contrary to treaty, the embassy wished to make peace between Carthage and Masinissa, since Masinissa was retiring from the disputed territory. But when the senate said that it would comply with the decision of the ambassadors, Gisgo son of Hamilcar, a riotous fellow who then held a magistracy, so stirred up the people by advocating war against Rome that flight alone saved the envoys from mishandling. Their report of this made a hostile senate still more hostile to Carthage.[1]

When Marcus Porcius Cato's son died during his praetorship, his father conducted his funeral at very small expense, according to his means, for he was a poor man.[2] Andriscus, who insisted vehemently on the lie that he was the son of Perseus, the former king of Macedonia, was sent to Rome.[3] Marcus Aemilius Lepidus, who had been chosen chief of the senate by six pairs of censors, instructed his sons on his death-bed to bear him to the grave on a bier spread with linens without purple; for the rest of the funeral, said Lepidus, they were not to spend more than a million *asses*, for the dignity of the funerals of great men was properly enhanced not by expenditure, but by the parade of ancestral portraits.[4] An investigation of poisonings was held. Publilia and Licinia, women of social position, were alleged to have murdered their

[3] Andriscus appealed to Demetrius of Syria as his relative, who disposed of him by sending him to Rome. He later escaped; see below, XLIX.
[4] Cf. above XLVII, note 6. His sixth designation as *princeps* was in 154 B.C.; it is not mentioned in the Summaries. His death occurred in 153–2 B.C.

A.U.C. 600–604

necasse insimulabantur, cognita causa, cum praetori praedes vades dedissent, cognatorum decreto necatae sunt. Gulussa Masinissae filius nuntiavit Carthagine dilectus agi, classem comparari et haud dubie bellum strui. Cum Cato suaderet, ut his bellum indiceretur, P. Cornelio Nasica dicente nihil temere faciundum, placuit decem legatos mitti exploratum. L. Licinius Lucullus A. Postumius Albinus consules cum dilectum severe agerent nec quemquam gratia dimitterent, ab tribunis plebis, qui pro amicis suis vacationem impetrare non poterant, in carcerem coniecti sunt. Cum Hispaniense bellum parum prospere aliquotiens gestum ita confudisset civitatem Romanam, ut ne hi quidem invenirentur, qui aut tribunatum exciperent aut legati ire vellent, P. Cornelius Aemilianus processit et excepturum se militiae genus, quodcumque imperatum esset, professus est; quo exemplo omnes ad studium militandi concitavit. Lucullus consul, cum Claudius Marcellus, cui [1] successerat, pacasse omnes Celtiberiae populos videretur, Vaccaeos et Cantabros et alias incognitas adhuc in Hispania gentes subegit. Ibi P. Cornelius Scipio [2] Aemilianus, L. Pauli [3] filius, Africani nepos, sed [4] adoptivus, provocatorem barbarum tribunus militum occidit et in expugnatione Intercatiae [5] urbis maius etiamnum periculum adit; nam

[1] cum C.M. cui *Sigonius*: cui C.M. MSS.
[2] P. Cornelius Scipio *Gronovius*: P. Cornelius Africanus Scipio MSS.
[3] L. Pauli *Aldus*: L. Corneli Pauli MSS.
[4] sed *Frobenius*: et MSS.
[5] Intercatiae *Sigonius*: inter captae MSS.

[1] According to Valerius Maximus VI. iii. 8, Publilia's husband was Postumius Albinus, presumably the consul of 151 B.C. Valerius gives the name as "Publicia," and speaks of Postumius as "Consul." Licinia's husband was Claudius Asellus.

husbands, who were ex-consuls. After a hearing on the case the women assigned real estate to the praetor as bail, and were put to death by decree of their own kinsmen.[1] B.C. 154–150

Gulussa the son of Masinissa reported that recruiting was under way at Carthage, a fleet was being prepared, and obviously war was in the making. Cato advocated declaring war on Carthage; Publius Cornelius Nasica declared that no hasty move should be made; and it was voted that ten envoys should be sent to investigate.[2]

When Consuls Lucius Licinius Lucullus and Aulus Postumius Albinus were conducting the levy strictly and exempting no one as a favour, they were thrown into prison by tribunes of the people, who were unable to obtain exemption for their friends. When numerous failures in the war in Spain had caused such confusion in the Roman state that no one could be found even to undertake service as military tribune, or to accept a post as staff-officer, Publius Cornelius Aemilianus came forward and announced that he would accept any form of military service to which he should be assigned; by this public-spirited action he aroused everyone to eagerness for military service.[3] Though Claudius Marcellus was thought to have reduced all the Celtiberian tribes, Consul Lucullus, his successor, subdued the Vaccaei, Cantabri, and other previously unknown Spanish tribes. In the same region, Publius Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus, son of Lucius Paulus, and adopted grandson of Africanus, while serving as military tribune, killed a native challenger, and in the storming of the city of Intercatia exposed himself to an even greater danger, for he was the first to surmount

[2] The account of these repeated embassies is confusing; Gsell, *Histoire Ancienne de l'Afrique du Nord*, (1918), III. 333–5: Appian represents the events of 150 B.C. as the first occasion for Roman action against Carthage; G. suggests that Livy has followed, not Polybius, but a Roman annalist who built up Rome's case against her rival.

[3] 151 B.C. Cf. Polybius XXXV. 4. 1–14 for the horror stories from Spain which circulated at Rome; cf. also Appian, *Spanish Wars* 49, Orosius IV. xxi. 1.

A.U.C. 600–604 murum primus transcendit. Ser. Sulpicius Galba praetor male adversus Lusitanos pugnavit. Cum legati ex Africa cum oratoribus Carthaginiensium et Gulussa Masinissae filio redissent dicerentque et exercitum se et classem Carthagine deprehendisse, perrogari sententias placuit. Catone et aliis principibus senatus suadentibus, ut in Africam confestim transportaretur exercitus, quoniam Cornelius Nasica dicebat nondum sibi iustam causam belli videri, placuit, ut bello abstinerent, si Carthaginienses classem exussissent et exercitum dimisissent; si minus, proximi consules de bello Punico referrent. Cum locatum a censoribus theatrum exstrueretur, P. Cornelio Nasica auctore tamquam inutile et nociturum publicis moribus ex senatus consulto destructum est, populusque aliquamdiu stans ludos spectavit. Carthaginienses cum adversus foedus bellum Masinissae intulissent, victi ab eo annos habente XCII et sine pulpamine mandere et siccum gustare panem [1] tantum solito, insuper Romanum bellum meruerunt. Motus praeterea Syriae et bella inter reges gesta referuntur. Inter quos motus Demetrius Syriae rex occisus est.

(Liber XLVIII)

col. IV adversus Ca[rth]aginienses. Lusitani va[stati.
C. Corneliu[s Ceth]egus, quod P. Decim Su

[1] mandere et siccum gustare panem *Madvig*: manderet sigustaret pane NP.

[1] 151 B.C. A fuller account is given by Appian, *Spanish Wars* 49–55. Marcellus made peace with his opponents to forestall Lucullus; the latter made war without authorization or scruple, acquired some booty and many hard knocks.

the wall.[1] Praetor Servius Sulpicius Galba fought unsuccessfully against the Lusitanians.[2] B.C. 154–150

When the envoys returned from Africa with representatives of the Carthaginians and with Gulussa the son of Masinissa, they reported that they had discovered both an army and a fleet at Carthage. The senate decided to poll the opinions of all the senators. Although Cato and other leading senators urged that an army should be taken to Africa at once, Cornelius Nasica said that he did not believe that there was as yet proper cause for war. Therefore it was voted to refrain from war if the Carthaginians burned their fleet and disbanded their army; if this was not done, the next consuls were to put the question of war with Carthage. When a theatre, contracted for by the censors, was being built, on motion of Publius Cornelius Nasica it was torn down by order of the senate, on the ground that it was inexpedient and would be injurious to the public character; and for some time thereafter the people stood to see theatrical performances.[3] When the Carthaginians attacked Masinissa contrary to the treaty, they were beaten. Masinissa was at that time ninety-two years old; his habit was to eat and enjoy plain dry bread without a relish.[4] The Carthaginians furthermore incurred war with Rome. The book also describes revolts in Syria and wars waged by the kings. In these disturbances Demetrius king of Syria was killed.[5]

(Book XLVIII)

. . . against the Carthaginians. The Lusitanians were ravaged. Gaius Cornelius Cethegus was condemned to a

[2] This apparently refers to Galba's campaign of 152 B.C., cf. Appian, *Spanish Wars* 58.

[3] 151 B.C. There are frequent references to this, including Valerius Maximus II. 4. 2, Velleius I. 15. 3, Augustine, *City of God* II. 5, and Appian, *Civil Wars* I. 28.

[4] Cf. Polybius XXXVI. 16 (L.C.L.).

[5] 150 B.C. Demetrius' fate is recorded by Polybius III. 5, Justinus XXXV. 1, Josephus, *Antiquities* XIII. 58 ff.

a[dd]ictam [1] ingenu[a]m stupraverat DCl damnatus. *add.* PSI. 12. 1291? *Macdonald.*

A.U.C. 605

XLIX. Tertii Punici belli initium altero et sescentesimo ab urbe condita anno, intra quintum annum quam erat coeptum, consummati. Inter M. Porcium Catonem et Scipionem Nasicam, quorum alter sapientissimus vir in civitate habebatur, alter optimus vir etiam iudicatus a senatu erat, diversis certatum sententiis est, Catone suadente bellum et ut tolleretur delereturque Carthago, Nasica dissuadente. Placuit tamen, quod contra foedus naves haberent, quod exercitum extra fines duxissent, quod socio populi Romani et amico, Masinissae, arma intulissent, quod filium eius Gulussam, qui cum legatis Romanis erat, in oppidum non recepissent, bellum his indici. Priusquam ullae copiae in naves imponerentur, Uticenses legati Romam venerunt se suaque omnia dedentes. Ea legatio velut omen grata patribus, acerba Carthaginiensibus fuit. Ludi Diti patri ad Tarentum ex praecepto librorum facti, qui ante [2] annum centesimum primo Punico bello, quingentesimo et altero anno ab urbe condita facti erant. Legati triginta Romam venerunt, per quos se Carthaginienses dedebant. Catonis sententia

[1] *de nomine non liquet.* P. Decimam Sulpicio *Kornemann*: P. Decio Subuloni *Luterbacher.* addictam *Kornemann.*
[2] ante *add. Gronovius*: *om.* MSS.

[1] Münzer (*Klio* 5 (1905) 136f.) thinks that P. Decius Subulo was the object of the assault, cf. Valerius Maximus 6.1.10; Cicero, *de Oratore* 2.253.277; *a. ictam* in the MS is then left unexplained, and ingenu[u]m is to be read. If a woman is involved, Cethegus was fined, perhaps, for treating her as a slave, cf. Quintilian III. vi. 25.

[2] 149 B.C., reckoning from 750 B.C. as the year of Rome's founding; see above, XLVII note 5, p. 15.

[3] Polybius XXXVI. 2 (1b) says that the Romans were

fine of six hundred sesterces for debauching a free bondwoman bound to Publius Decius Subulo.[1]

XLIX. The beginning of the Third Punic War fell in the six hundred and second year after the founding of the city—a war which was concluded within five years from its beginning.[2] A contest of opposing opinions took place between Marcus Porcius Cato and Scipio Nasica, one of whom was considered a man of the greatest wisdom in the state, while the other had even been adjudged by the senate to be a man of greatest excellence. Cato urged war and the removal and destruction of Carthage, while Nasica opposed him.[3] It was voted, however, that whereas the Carthaginians had a navy contrary to the treaty, whereas they had led their army beyond their own territory, whereas they had attacked Masinissa, a friend and ally of the Roman people, and whereas they had not received Masinissa's son Gulussa, who had accompanied the Roman envoys, within their walls, war should be declared on Carthage. Before any troops had been put aboard ship, envoys of Utica came to Rome to put themselves and all they had in the hands of the Romans. This embassy was pleasing as an omen to the senate, and bitter to the Carthaginians.[4] B.C. 149

Games in honour of Father Dis were celebrated at the Tarentum, as prescribed by the Sibylline Books; similar games had been celebrated one hundred years before in the First Punic War, in the five hundred and second year after the founding of the city.[5]

Thirty envoys came to Rome to convey the surrender of Carthage. The opinion of Cato prevailed that the senate

considering the effect of their actions on international opinion at this time.

[4] Utica's action is recorded by Polybius XXXVI. 3 (1) and Appian, *African Wars* VIII. xi. 75.

[5] The Tarentum was a spot on the Campus Martius, with a subterranean altar to Father Dis and Proserpina. See also below, p. 31 note 2.

A.U.C. 605 evicit,[1] ut in decreto perstaretur, et ut consules quam primum ad bellum proficiscerentur. Qui ubi in Africam transierunt, acceptis quos imperaverant trecentis obsidibus et armis omnibus instrumentisque belli, si qua Carthagine erant, cum [2] ex auctoritate patrum iuberent, ut in alio loco, dum a mari decem milia passuum ne minus remoto, oppidum facerent, indignitate rei ad bellandum Carthaginienses compulerunt. Obsideri oppugnarique coepta est Carthago a L. Marcio M'. Manilio [3] consulibus. In qua oppugnatione cum neglectos ab una parte muros duo tribuni temere cum cohortibus suis irrupissent et ab oppidanis graviter caederentur, a Scipione Africano [4] expliciti sunt; per quem et castellum Romanorum, quod nocte expugnabant, paucis equitibus iuvantibus liberatum est, castrorumque, quae Carthaginienses omnibus copiis ab urbe pariter egressi oppugnabant, liberatorum is ipse praecipuam gloriam tulit. Praeterea cum ab inrita oppugnatione Carthaginis consul — alter enim Romam [5] ad comitia ierat [6] — exercitum duceret adversus Hasdrubalem, qui [7] cum ampla manu saltum iniquum insederat, suasit primo consuli, ne tam iniquo loco confligeret. Victus deinde complurum, qui et prudentiae et virtuti eius invidebant, sententiis et ipse saltum ingressus est. Cum, sicut praedixerat, fusus fugatusque esset Romanus exercitus et duae cohortes ab hoste obsiderentur, cum paucis equitum turmis in saltum reversus liberavit eas et incolumes reduxit. Quam virtutem eius et Cato, vir promptioris ad vituperandum linguae, in senatu sic prosecutus est, ut diceret reliquos, qui in Africa militarent, umbras volitare,[8] Scipionem vigere, et populus Romanus

[1] evicit *Halm*: pervicit R, devicit MSS.
[2] cum *Jahn*: tum N, tunc P, tunc cum R.
[3] M'. Manilio *Sigonius*: M. Manlio NPR.
[4] Africano PR: Orfitiano NΠ.
[5] Romam R: Roma NΠ; Romae P.
[6] ierat R, erat NPΠ.
[7] qui *add.* R: *om.* MSS, *Rossbach.*
[8] volitare *Sigonius*: militare MSS.

should stand by its decision and that the consuls should B.C. 149 set out to war as soon as possible. When the consuls had crossed into Africa, they received the three hundred hostages they had ordered, and all the weapons and engines of war which were at Carthage. They then ordered, on the authority of the senate, that the Carthaginians should build a town elsewhere, but not less than ten miles from the sea. By these insulting terms they drove the Carthaginians to fight. The siege and assault of Carthage was begun by Consuls Lucius Marcius and Manius Manilius.[1] During this siege, when two tribunes with their units rashly broke through the walls where they were carelessly held, and were suffering heavy losses from the townspeople they were extricated by Scipio Africanus. He also relieved with the aid of a few cavalrymen a Roman fort which the Carthaginians were storming at night; and when the latter sallied from the city in full force and made a general attack on the Roman camp, Scipio received the chief credit for saving the day. Furthermore, when the consul—for the other consul had gone to Rome for the elections—led his army from its fruitless blockade of Carthage against Hasdrubal, who lay in wait at a difficult pass with abundant forces, Scipio at first advised the consul not to fight on such unfavourable terrain. The opinions of the majority who were jealous both of his wisdom and of his valour prevailed over him, and he entered the pass with the others. When the Roman army was routed and put to flight as he had predicted and two units were trapped by the enemy, he re-entered the pass with a few troops of cavalry, freed the Romans, and brought them back unharmed. This valour of Scipio's even Cato, a man whose tongue was readier for invective, praised in the senate so highly as to say that the others who were serving in the army in Africa were flitting shadows, while Scipio alone was alive; moreover, the Roman people hailed him with such approval

[1] Appian, *African Wars* xi. 76–xiv. 96 gives the speeches of the consul and of the final envoys from Carthage.

A.U.C. 605 eo favore complexus, ut comitiis plurimae eum tribus consulem scriberent, cum hoc per aetatem non liceret. Cum L. Scribonius tribunus plebis rogationem promulgasset, ut Lusitani, qui in fidem populo R. dediti ab Ser. Galba in Gallia venissent, in libertatem restituerentur, M. Cato acerrime suasit. Extat oratio in [1] annalibus ipsius inclusa. Q. Fulvius Nobilior ei,[2] saepe ab eo in senatu laceratus, respondit pro Galba. Ipse quoque Galba, cum se damnari videret, complexus duos filios praetextatos et Sulpicii Galli [2a] filium, cuius tutor erat, ita miserabiliter pro se locutus est, ut rogatio antiquaretur. Extant tres orationes eius, duae adversus Libonem tribunum plebis rogationemque eius habitae de Lusitanis, una contra L. Cornelium Cethegum, in qua Lusitanos prope se castra habentis caesos fatetur, quod compertum habuerit equo atque homine suo ritu immolatis per speciem pacis adoriri exercitum suum in animo habuisse.

Andriscus quidam, ultimae sortis homo, Persei regis filium se [3] ferens et mutato nomine Philippus vocatus, cum ab urbe Romana, quo illum Demetrius Syriae rex ob hoc ipsum mendacium miserat, clam profugisset, multis ad falsam eius fabulam velut ad veram coeuntibus, contracto exercitu totam Macedoniam aut voluntate incolentium aut armis occupavit. Fabulam autem talem finxerat: ex paelice [4] se et [5] Perseo rege ortum, traditum edu-

[1] in R: et in NPII: et est in *Rossbach.*
[2] ei *Jahn*: et MSS.
[2a] Gali *Mommsen*; Sulpi Cali MSS.
[3] se *add.* R, *edd. variis locis*: *om.* MSS.
[4] paelice MSS.: Laodice *Wilcken.*
[5] et *add. edd.*: *om.* MSS.

[1] Cato was quoting the *Odyssey*, X. 495, in his praise of Scipio. The election of Scipio as consul is again mentioned below in L, in the proper chronological sequence (147 B.C.). Appian, *African Wars* xiv. 98, 99 also describes the feats of Scipio.

that the majority of tribes at the elections voted him into the consulship, although this was illegal because of his age.[1] B.C. 149

When Lucius Scribonius, tribune of the commons, proposed a resolution that freedom should be restored to Lusitanians who had been sold in Gaul by Servius Galba after having surrendered at discretion to the Roman People, Cato most vigorously supported the resolution. His speech survives, as part of his *History*. Quintus Fulvius Nobilior, who had often been assailed by Cato in the senate, answered him on behalf of Galba. Moreover, Galba himself, seeing that he was being condemned, spoke in his own defence so pitiably, clasping his two young sons and the son of Sulpicius Gallus, whose guardian he was, that the resolution was defeated. Three specches by Galba survive: two were delivered against Libo the tribune of the commons and his resolution about the Lusitanians; the third was against Lucius Cornelius Cethegus, in which Galba admits that he massacred the Lusitanians who were encamped near him, because, he says, he had discovered that they had sacrificed a horse and a man according to their custom and planned to attack his army under cover of the truce.[2]

A certain Andriscus, a man of the lowest class, styling himself the son of King Perseus, and changing his name to Philip, fled secretly from the city of Rome, to which Demetrius, King of Syria, had sent him precisely because of this false claim of his. Many followers rallied about his lying account as if it were true, and with the army he had collected he seized all of Macedonia either with the consent of the inhabitants or by force. This was the tale he had invented: he was the son of King Perseus and a concu-

[1] 149 B.C. All the orations mentioned were delivered on the same occasion. Galba's speeches are mentioned by Cicero, *De Oratore* I. 227 and *Brutus* 89, by Valerius Maximus, VIII. i. 2, by Appian, *Spanish Wars* 60, and in the *Oxyrhynchus Summary* XLIX below. The establishment of the permanent *quaestio repetundarum* (court of malfeasance) in this year was a consequence of this agitation.

A.U.C. 605 candum Cretensi cuidam esse, ut in[1] belli casus, quod ille cum Romanis gereret, aliquod velut semen regiae stirpis extaret. Hydramyti[2] se educatum usque ad duodecimum aetatis annum, patrem eum esse credentem, a quo educaretur, ignarum generis fuisse sui. Adfecto deinde eo, cum prope ad ultimum finem vitae esset, detectam tandem sibi originem suam falsaeque matri libellum datum signo Persei regis signatum, quem sibi traderet, cum ad puberem aetatem venisset, obtestationesque ultimas adiectas, ut res in occultato[3] ad id tempus servaretur. Pubescenti libellum traditum, in quo relicti sibi duo thensauri a patre dicerentur. Tum scienti mulierem[4] se subditum esse, veram stirpem ignoranti edidisse genus atque obtestatam, ut prius quam manaret ad Eumenen res, Perseo inimicum, excederet his locis, ne interficeretur. Eo se exterritum, simul sperantem aliquod a Demetrio auxilium in Syriam se contulisse atque ibi primum, quis esset, palam expromere ausum.

Liber XXXXV[I]III

L. Marcio Censorino M. Manilio coss.
bellum Punicum tertium exortum. Utic[enses
b]enigne locavere auxilia.[5] Carthagin[i]e[nses

[1] in *add. edd., om.* MSS.
[2] *sic* NII.
[3] occultato *Rossbach*: occupato NPII: occulto GR.
[4] scienti mulierem *edd.*: scienti mulieri NP: scientem mulierem R.
[5] locavere auxilia *Rossbach*: locavelauxiliate MS: locant auxilia *Kornemann.*

[1] Wilcken would read here "Laodice," the name of Perseus' queen, cf. XLII. xii. 3. At this time, Laodice was at the court of her brother Demetrius, cf. below, L; one wonders if Andriscus would have ventured to claim kinship with her practically to her face.

bine,[1] and had been given to a certain Cretan to rear, so B.C. 149 that in spite of the accidents of the war which Perseus was then waging against Rome, some scion, as it were, of the royal stock might survive. He had been brought up at Hydramitis[2] until he was twelve, believing that his father was the man who was rearing him, and without knowledge of his own family. Then when his foster father fell ill and was almost on his death-bed, he finally revealed to Andriscus his parentage and gave his foster mother a writing sealed with the seal of King Perseus, which she was to give to the boy when he reached maturity. His foster father added his dying entreaties that the matter should be kept secret until that time. On reaching maturity, Andriscus was given the writing in which it was said that two hoards of treasure had been left him by his father. At that time he knew that he was a foster son, but did not know his true parentage; his foster mother revealed to him his lineage and begged him, in order to avoid assassination, to depart from that region before the news leaked out to Eumenes, the enemy of Perseus. Frightened by this entreaty, Andriscus said, and also hoping for some aid from Demetrius, he had made his way to Syria and there had first dared to declare who he was.[3]

Book XLIX

In the consulship of Lucius Marcius Censorinus and Marcus Manilius, the Third Punic War began. The people of Utica hospitably provided quarters for the troops sent to their aid.[4] The Carthaginians offered their surrender.

[2] It is possible that Hydramia in Crete is meant; but Adramyttion in Asia Minor is often taken to be the city referred to (so Lucian, *Against an Ignoramus* 20 and Ammianus Marcellinus XIV. xi. 31).
[3] The further story of Andriscus is told below in L and LII. For the portion related above, cf. Diodorus XXXII. 15.
[4] As will be seen from the critical note, this version is conjectural.

A.U.C. 605 i]n [d]edicionem venerunt. Iussi omn[i]a [sua in alium locum tr[ansferr]e mo[ti ira ad arma redierunt. Roman[os obses]s[i Carthaginienses [1] pepulerunt. Scipio [trib. mil. fugientes defendit. Aemiliani fidem P[oeni suspexerunt.[2] Aemiliani virtute exer[citus, qui obsessus in saltu a Poenis erat, liber[atus.
per Charidemum poe [. . . Ser. Galba de Lusitanis reus product[us. Liberaverunt eum fili, quos flens com[mendabat. Ab Andrisco, q]ui se Philippi filiu[m ferebat, Macedonia per arma occupata.
Manilio et Marcio c[oss. quarti ludi saecularre[s], factos quos opo[rtuit Diti ex Sibyllae carminibus, [Tar]en[ti facti sunt.[3]

A.U.C. 601–606 L. Thessalia, cum et illam invadere armis atque occupare Pseudophilippus vellet, per legatos Romanorum auxiliis Achaeorum defensa est. Prusias rex Bithyniae, ⟨homo⟩[3a] omnium humillimorumque vitiorum, a Nicomede filio, adiuvante Attalo rege Pergami, occisus, habebat alterum filium, qui pro superiore ordine dentium enatum habuisse unum os continens dicitur. cum III [4] legati [5] ad pacem inter Nicomeden et Prusiam faciendam ab Romanis [6] missi essent,

[1] *suppl. Rossbach*: Romanorum consules Poeni obsessi *Kornemann*: Romani urbem obsedere. Poeni eos *Luterbacher*.
[2] suspexerunt *Rossbach*: admirati sunt *Kornemann*.
[3] *suppl. Wissowa*: dicunt, ludos saec. fact., quos oportuit fieri ex Sib. carm. Cn. Lentulo L. Mummio coss. *Kornemann*: plerique prodiderunt Man. et M. coss. ludos saec. fact. quos oportebat ex Sib. carm. dis centesimo quoque anno fieri *Luterbacher*. [3a] *suppl. Heraeus.*
[4] cum tres *Lovelianus*: cum in NP.
[5] legati *Gronovius*: legatos MSS.
[6] ab Romanis *Gronovius*: ad Romanos MSS.

When ordered to convey all their possessions to another site, they were roused to anger and resorted to arms again. The Carthaginians, being blockaded, repelled the Romans. Scipio as tribune of the soldiers protected the routed men. The Carthaginians admired the good faith of Aemilianus. By the valour of Aemilianus the army which had been trapped in a defile by the Carthaginians was released . . . through Charidemus [1] . . . Servius Galba was put on trial for his conduct towards the Lusitanians. His acquittal was secured by his sons, whom he presented with tears to his judges. Macedonia was seized by force of arms by Andriscus, who claimed that he was the son of Philip. In the consulship of Manilius and Marcius, the fourth [2] centennial festival which was required, according to the prophecies of the Sibyl, as an offering to Dis, was held at the Tarentum. B.C. 149

L. When the false Philip attempted to invade and seize Thessaly, this district was defended by Roman deputies at the head of Achaean troops.[3] Prusias King of Bithynia, a man of unlimited and basest defects of character, was killed by his son Nicomedes, aided by Attalus King of Pergamum. Prusias had a second son, who is said to have had a single continuous bone growing in place of his upper row of teeth.[4] Three envoys were sent by the Romans to arrange peace between Nicomedes and Prusias; B.C. 150–148

[1] Charidemus is unknown; he may have been a poet, but the letters *poe* might also indicate something Carthaginian (*Poenus*, etc.).
[2] Cf. Censorinus 17. 10; apparently in the time of Augustus a schedule of supposed *ludi saeculares* was drawn up, to justify his celebration of 17 B.C. as the fifth of the series; the first two were placed in 509 and 408 B.C. respectively; the third was the celebration of 249 B.C. mentioned in the first *Summary* XLIX above.
[3] 150 B.C. The Roman commander was Scipio Nasica, according to Zonaras IX. 28.
[4] Cf. Pyrrhus, Plutarch, *Pyrrhus* iii. 4; also Pliny, *N.H.* VII. xvi. 69; Herodotus IX. 83. 5.

A.U.C. 604–606

cum unus ex his multis cicatricibus sartum[1] caput haberet, alter pedibus aeger esset, tertius ingenio socors haberetur, M. Cato dixit eam in legationem, nec caput nec pedes nec cor habere. In Syria, quae eo tempore stirpe generis parem Macedonum regis, inertia socordiaque similem Prusiae regem habebat, iacente eo in ganea et lustris Hammonius regnabat, per quem et amici omnes regis et Laodice regina et Antigonus Demetri filius occisi sunt.[2] Masinissa Numidiae rex maior nonaginta annis decessit, vir insignis. Inter cetera iuvenalia opera, quae ad ultimum edidit, adeo etiam veneris usu[3] in senecta viguit, ut post sextum et octogesimum annum filium genuerit. Inter tres liberos eius (maximus natu Micipsa, Gulussa, Mastanabal, qui etiam Graecis litteris eruditus erat) P. Scipio Aemilianus, cum commune his regnum pater reliquisset et dividere eos arbitro Scipione iussisset, partes administrandi regni divisit. Item Phameae[4] Himilconi, praefecto equitum Carthaginiensium, viro forti et cuius praecipua opera Poeni utebantur, persuasit ut ad Romanos cum equitatu suo transiret. Ex tribus legatis, qui ad Masinissam missi erant, M. Claudius Marcellus coorta tempestate fluctibus obrutus est. Carthaginienses Hasdrubalem, Masinissae nepotem, quem praetorem habebant, hominem proditionis suspectum in curia occiderunt; quae suspicio inde manavit, quod propinquus

[1] sartum *Jahn*: sarsum MSS.: sparsum R.
[2] occisi sunt *edd.*: occisum NPR.
[3] veneris usu *Seyffert*: versus MSS.: nervis *Britzlmayr*, *Rossbach*.
[4] Phameae *edd.*: phamae NP[2].

[1] Cf. Polybius XXXVI. 14 (L.C.L.).
[2] The king was Alexander Balas. On Hammonius, see also Josephus XIII. 106 ff. For Laodice, cf. above p. 28, note 7. She was sister to Demetrius, and may have married him.
[3] 149–8 B.C. On Masinissa, cf. Polybius XXXVI. 16 (L.C.L.). Mastanabal was not alone among his brothers as to his education, cf. Diodorus XXXIV. 35. Scipio's division of the

one of these had a head strewn with many scars, another was gouty, and the third was considered stupid in nature. Marcus Cato's comment on that embassy was that it had neither head nor feet nor wits.[1] In Syria, which at that time had a king who was in ancestry the equal of the kings of Macedonia but in idleness and sluggishness resembled Prusias, the kingship was exercised by Hammonius, while the titular king took his ease in cook-shops and brothels. Hammonius put to death not only all the friends of the king, but Queen Laodice and Antigonus the son of Demetrius.[2]

B.C. 150–148

Masinissa King of Numidia died aged more than ninety, a distinguished man. Among other youthful exploits which he performed during his last years, he was so vigorous even sexually in his old age as to beget a son after he was eighty-six. He left his kingdom undivided to three sons, Micipsa, the eldest, Gulussa, and Mastanabal, who had also been educated in Greek culture, and ordered them to divide it according to the judgment of Publius Scipio Aemilianus. Scipio accordingly assigned the shares of the kingdom which each should rule.[3] Scipio also induced Phameas Himilco, commander of the Carthaginian cavalry, a brave man who was of extraordinary service to the Carthaginians, to desert with his force to the Romans.[4] Of three envoys who had been sent to Masinissa, Marcus Claudius Marcellus was drowned at sea in a storm.[5] The Carthaginians suspected Hasdrubal, the grandson of Masinissa, who was serving then as their general, of treachery, and killed him in their senate-house.[6] This suspicion grew from his relationship to

kingdom is described in Appian, *African Wars* 106 (based on Polybius) and in Zonaras IX. 27.
[4] 148 B.C. Himilco's successes against the Romans and Scipio's feat of winning him over are related by Appian, *African Wars* 97, 99, 100, 104, 107–9.
[5] 148 B.C. Many items in Marcellus' career are mentioned by Livy from XLI. xiii. 4 (177 B.C.) to XLVIII.
[6] This Hasdrubal is mentioned by Appian, *African Wars*, 93 and 111.

A.U.C. 604–606

esset Gulussae Romanorum auxilia iuvantis. P. Scipio Aemilianus cum aedilitatem peteret, consul a populo dictus. Quoniam per annos consuli fieri non licebat, cum magno certamine suffragantis plebis [1] et repugnantibus ei [2] aliquamdiu patribus, legibus solutus et consul creatus. M'. Manilius [3] aliquot urbes circumpositas Carthagini expugnavit. Pseudophilippus in Macedonia, caeso cum exercitu P.[4] Iuventio praetore, ab Q. Caecilio victus captusque est, et revicta [5] Macedonia.

L[IBER L

Per socios popu[li R. Andriscus ex Thessalia pulsus
in ultim[a]m T[hraciam.[6] De tribunis pl.
lat[a est] l[ex] At[inia. Prusia occiso Nicomedes re-
col. V gno Bithy]niae potitus [7] est. Ad Attalum regem
Pergami] et Prusiam ⟨am⟩endati [8] sunt legati Marc[us Licinius
poda]gricus, A. Hostilius Mancinus capite
icto test]a quondam, L. Manlius Volso stolidus.
Cunctari] legationem dixerunt, M. Cato respondit

[1] plebis *Perizonius*: legis NPIIR.
[2] ei *Jahn*: et MSS.
[3] M'. Manilius *Sigonius*: M. aemilius NPIIR.
[4] P. *Gruter*: m. NPR.
[5] revicta *Rossbach*: relicta NPR: recepta *Leidensis*.
[6] Thraciam *Rossbach*: c . . . MS.
[7] potitus *Kornemann*: positus MS.
[8] Pergami et Prusiam amendati *Rossbach*: in pugnamentas MS: in Pergamenos missi *Grenfell-Hunt*: deductum in pugnam *Gundermann*: a Romanis in Pergamum *Kornemann*: et Prusian Pergamum *Reid*.

Gulussa, who was assisting the Roman auxiliaries. When Publius Scipio Aemilianus stood for the aedileship, he was elected consul by the people. Since he was under age to be made consul lawfully, there was a great struggle between the commons, who campaigned for him, and the senators, who for some time resisted him, before he was exempted from the statutes and declared consul.[1] Manius Manilius stormed several cities surrounding Carthage.[2] After the false Philip had crushed Praetor Publius Iuventius and his army in Macedonia, he was conquered and captured by Quintus Caecilius, and Macedonia was reconquered.[3]

B.C. 150–148

Book L

Andriscus was driven out of Thessaly into outer Thrace by the allies of the Roman People. The Atinian law concerning the tribunes of the people was passed.[4] When Prusias was assassinated, Nicomedes laid hold on the crown of Bithynia. There were sent abroad as envoys to King Attalus at Pergamum and to Prusias, Marcus Licinius, who was gouty, Aulus Hostilius Mancinus, who had once been hit on the head by a jar, and Lucius Manlius Volso, a blockhead. People said that the embassy was delaying, and Marcus Cato answered that it had neither

[1] Cf. Appian 112; Velleius I. 12. 3; Cicero, *Philippic* XI. 17.
[2] Cf. the *Oxyrhynchus Summary* L, below. Appian 108–9 does not mention successes won by Manilius, so that these "cities" must have been quite unimportant.
[3] Cf. Obsequens 19 below; Velleius I. 11. 2; Diodorus XXXII. 9b.
[4] If the restoration is correct, this is the law which admitted tribunes of the people to the senate, cf. Gellius XIV. 8. 2. Members of the Atinian family had been praetors, but had held no higher magistracy; there may have been a family interest in making senatorial rank more accessible, cf. below, LIX.

eam nec caput] nec pedes nec cor habere.[1] M. Sca[n]tiu repuls]am tulit in stupro deprehensus.[2]
A.U.C. 606 Sp. Albino L. Piso]ne coss.
Masinissa ult]imae senectutis liberos IIII et XL virile]s reliquit decedens. Cuius regnum legit]imis filis per Aemilianum distributum. Marcellus leg[atus ad Masinissam missus perit in mari. Ha]sdrubal, quod adfinis Masinissae erat, a suis in cur]ia subsellis occisus[3] est. Scipio Aemilianus consul creat]us.
A M'. Manilio] in Africa pr[os]pere dimicatum [es]t.
Iuventi pr. in] Thessalia exercitus caesus.
Andriscus a] Metello captus. Sacrarium Opis et laur]us foci maximo incendio inviolata.]

A.U.C. 607–608 LI. Carthago, in circuitum $\overline{\text{XXIII}}$[4] patens, magno labore obsessa et per partes capta est, primum a Mancino legato, deinde a Scipione consule, cui extra sortem Africa provincia data erat. Carthaginienses portu novo, quia vetus obstructus a Scipione erat, facto et contracta clam exiguo tempore ampla classe infeliciter navali proelio pugnaverunt. Hasdrubalis quoque, ducis eorum, castra

[1] habere *Kornemann, Rossbach*: haberent MS.
[2] repulsam tulit . . . deprehensus *Grenfell-Hunt*: . . . am tulit . . . deprehensi MS: de in stupro deprehensis *Warde Fowler*.
[3] subsellis occisus *Kornemann*: subselli socius MS.
[4] $\overline{\text{XXIII}}$ *H. J. Mueller*: XXIII passus MSS. (passuum *Leidensis*): XXIII milia quidem passuum R.

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[1] It is not clear that this restoration is correct; Scantius may have proposed a law concerning those caught in sex-offences (*de in stupro deprehensis*).
[2] Polybius XXXVI. 16. 5 (L.C.L.) says ten sons; Appian, *African Wars* 106, seems to follow him, but mentions that many of Masinissa's sons died during his lifetime, so that the

head nor feet nor wit. Marcus Scantius was rejected for office because he had been caught in a sexual offence.[1]
In the consulship of Spurius Albinus and Lucius Piso, B.C. 148 Masinissa, dying in extreme old age, left forty-four sons.[2] His kingdom was divided among his legitimate sons by Aemilianus. Marcellus, sent as envoy to Masinissa, was lost at sea. Hasdrubal, because he was related to Masinissa, was beaten to death with benches in the senate-house by his own people. Scipio Aemilianus was elected consul. A successful campaign was conducted in Africa by Manius Manilius. The army of Praetor Iuventius was crushed in Thessaly. Andriscus was taken prisoner by Metellus. The shrine of Ops and a laurel belonging to the hearth were unharmed by a huge conflagration.[3]

LI. Carthage, extending in a circumference of twenty- B.C. 147–146 three miles, was besieged with great toil, and portions of it were captured, first by the staff-officer Mancinus, and then by Consul Scipio, to whom Africa had been assigned without the lot as his field of operations.[4] The Carthaginians built a new harbour because the old one had been blocked by Scipio; in a brief space of time they secretly formed a substantial fleet, but failed to win the naval battle.[5] Also the camp of Hasdrubal, their general, placed in

restoration may be as Livy stated the matter. Another possibility is that the figure of four refers to legitimate sons (including the famous four-year-old, cf. the first *Summary* L), and another figure referred to other sons.
[3] Cf. below, Obsequens 19. The shrine was part of the *regia*, the religious successor to the king's palace.
[4] 147 B.C. Appian, *African Wars* 113, follows Polybius in minimizing the success of Mancinus, to the greater glory of Scipio; but Mancinus was elected consul in 145, presumably on the reputation gained before Carthage. Cf. also Zonaras IX. 29. Scipio was given Africa by the senate, according to Valerius Maximus VIII. 15. 4, by decree of the people, according to Appian 112.
[5] Appian 121 f.

A.U.C. 607–608 ad Nepherim oppidum loco difficili sita cum exercitu deleta sunt a Scipione, qui tandem expugnavit septingentesimo anno quam erat condita. Spoliorum maior pars Siculis, quibus ablata erant, reddita. Ultimo urbis excidio, cum se Hasdrubal Scipioni dedisset, uxor eius, quae paucis ante diebus de marito impetrare non potuerat, ut ad victorem transfugerent, in medium se flagrantis urbis incendium cum duobus liberis ex arce praecipitavit. Scipio exemplo patris sui Aemilii Pauli, qui Macedoniam vicerat, ludos fecit transfugasque ac fugitivos bestiis obiecit. Belli Achaici [1] semina referuntur haec, quod legati Romani ab Achaeis pulsati sint Corinthi, missi ut eas civitates quae sub dicione Philippi fuerant ab Achaico concilio secernerent.

[Liber LI]

A.U.C. 607 P. Cornelio C. Livio] coss.
Clausa Cartha]gine in captivos [2] crudelissime
Poeni saevie]re. Obsidentes Romani no- [3]
cent Carthag]inem crebris proeli⟨s⟩.

[1] Achaici *Gronovius*: achaicis MSS.
[2] captivos *Gundermann*: appius MS.
[3] Obsidentes Romani no- *Grenfell-Hunt, Rossbach*: obsidentiis romanos non MS.

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[1] Nepheris was taken in the winter of 147–6; Hasdruba was by then in Carthage as commander, cf. Appian 126; Polybius XXXVIII. 7 f.; Zonaras IX. 30. The last days of Carthage are described by Appian, 128–31, and Polybius, XXXVIII. 19–22 (L.C.L.).

[2] Cf. Appian 133; Diodorus XXXII. 25; Cicero *Verres* II. i. 11, ii. 85 ff., iv. 73 ff.; Plutarch, *Sayings of Scipio* 6 (L.C.L. *Moralia* III, p. 187). The implication that the wealth of Carthage consisted largely of loot from Sicily is presumably an unfortunate result of the process of summarization.

[3] Polybius XXXVIII. 20. 7–10 (L.C.L.); Appian 131.

[4] Appian 135; Valerius Maximus II. vii. 13.

difficult terrain near the city of Nepheris, was destroyed along with its garrison by Scipio, who finally took Carthage in the seven-hundredth year after its founding.[1] The greater part of the spoils were given back to the Sicilians from whom they had been taken.[2] At the final storming of the city, when Hasdrubal surrendered to Scipio, Hasdrubal's wife, who a few days before had been unable to persuade her husband to desert to the conqueror, hurled herself and her two children from the citadel into the midst of the flames of the burning city.[3] Scipio, taking his cue from his father Aemilius Paulus, the conqueror of Macedonia, celebrated games and exposed the deserters and fugitive slaves to the wild beasts.[4] The preliminaries of the Achaean War are recorded as follows: Roman envoys were struck by the Achaeans at Corinth—envoys sent to separate from the Achaean League those states which had been under the control of Philip.[5] B.C. 147–146

Book LI

In the consulship of Publius Cornelius and Gaius Livius, while Carthage was blockaded the Carthaginians inflicted the most savage cruelties on prisoners.[6] The besieging Romans damaged Carthage by frequent attacks. B.C. 147

[5] 148–7 B.C. Personal politics in the Achaean League led to attacks on Sparta by the League, which had gained confidence in dealing with Rome because its troops had put down Andriscus in Macedonia. Rome took the occasion to demand that Sparta, Argos, Corinth, Orchomenus, and Heracleia by Mount Oeta should be dropped from the Achaean League. The mistreatment of the Roman envoys was due to rabble-rousing by Achaean leaders; the lower classes had long been discontented and in difficulties; it is possible that the usual Roman preference for the well-to-do had become apparent. The embassy here referred to was probably that of the spring of 146 B.C., the third Roman embassy which had been disregarded and discourteously treated.

[6] Cf. below, Obsequens 20 and Appian, *African Wars* 118.

A.U.C. 607 Per Critola]um pr. Corinthi legati Romanorum violati. Lu]sitani subacti.
Cn. Corne[lio L. Mummio coss.
col. VI A.U.C. 608 p]er Scipion[em Carthago expugnata et d]irepta. Qu[i cum etiam arcem inflammavisset, ux[or Hasdrubalis se ipsa cum duobus fil[iis in medium iecit incendium, ne in potestate[m victoris veniret. Scipio exemplo Aemili, a q[uo Perseus victus erat, ludos fecit.

A.U.C. 606–610 LII. Cum Achaeis, qui in auxilio Boeotos et Chalcidenses habebant, Q. Caecilius Metellus ad Thermopylas bello conflixit; quibus victis dux eorum Critolaus mortem sibi veneno conscivit. In cuius locum Diaeus, Achaici motus primus auctor, ab Achaeis dux creatus ad Isthmon a L. Mummio consule victus est. Qui omni Achaia in deditionem accepta Corinthon ex senatus consulto diruit, quia ibi legati Romani violati erant. Thebae quoque et Chalcis, quae auxilio fuerant, dirutae. Ipse L. Mummius abstinentissimum virum egit, nec quicquam ex his operibus ornamentisque, quae praedives Corinthos habuit, in domum eius pervenit. Q. Caecilius Metellus de Andrisco

[1] Apparently the first stirrings of the rise of Lusitania under Viriathus.

[2] The battle was actually fought at Scarpheia in Locris, as the Achaean commander did not have the courage to attempt the defence of Thermopylae. Critolaüs disappeared during the battle, according to Pausanias VII. xv. 4. Metellus also cut to pieces an Arcadian contingent and one from Patras; Pausanias VII. xv. 5–6; Polybius XXXVIII. 16. 4 (L.C.L.).

[3] Polybius XXXIX. 8. 6 (L.C.L.); Pausanius VII. xvi. 1–4. Aurelius Victor 60 calls the site of the battle Leucopetra; but this locality in the Isthmus of Corinth is not mentioned elsewhere.

[4] Cf. Pausanias VII. xvi. 7 f. The standard modern interpretation is that Roman commercial interests wanted to eliminate their chief Greek competitor.

Roman envoys were molested by General Critolaus at Corinth. The Lusitanians were defeated.[1] B.C. 147

In the consulship of Gnaeus Cornelius and Lucius Mummius, Carthage was stormed and plundered by Scipio. When he also set fire to the citadel, the wife of Hasdrubal cast herself with her two sons into the midst of the flames, in order not to put herself in the power of the conqueror. Scipio followed the precedent set by Aemilius, the conqueror of Perseus, in giving games. col. VI B.C. 146

LII. Quintus Caecilius Metellus fought a battle at Thermopylae against the Achaeans, who had the support of Boeotia and Chalcis. After the defeat of the Achaeans, their leader Critolaus committed suicide by poison.[2] In his place Diaeus, the original sponsor of the Achaean uprising, was made commander and was defeated at the Isthmus by Consul Lucius Mummius.[3] The latter secured the surrender of all Achaea and in accordance with a decree of the senate destroyed Corinth, because the Roman envoys had been mistreated there.[4] Thebes and Chalcis, which had supported the Achaeans, were also destroyed.[5] Lucius Mummius himself played a part of extreme self-denial, and none of the works of art and adornments, in which Corinth was very rich, were introduced into his house.[6] Quintus Caecilius Metellus celebrated a triumph B.C. 148–144

[5] This is an exaggeration. The walls of these cities were torn down, some citizens executed, and fines imposed on Thebes for the benefit of Heraclea and Euboea, see Polybius XXXIX. 4–6 (L.C.L.); Pausanias VII. xvi. 9 f.

[6] On the excellent conduct of Mummius, cf. Polybius XXXIX. 6; his refusal to keep booty is mentioned by Cicero, *de Officiis* II. 76, Strabo VIII. 381, and others. The stories of Mummius' lack of culture seem to be rhetorical (perhaps originally political) inventions or exaggerations. He gave Corinthian works of art to many communities, even in Spain (*C.I.L.* I². 626–32), cf. *Oxyrhynchus Summary* LIII below; this presumably occurred when Mummius was censor in 142 B.C.

A.U.C. 606–610 triumphavit, P. Cornelius Scipio [1] Aemilianus de Carthagine et Hasdrubale. Viriathus in Hispania primum ex pastore venator, ex venatore latro, mox iusti quoque exercitus dux factus, totam Lusitaniam occupavit, M. Vetilium praetorem fuso eius exercitu cepit; post quem C. Plautius praetor nihilo felicius rem gessit; tantumque terroris is hostis intulit,[2] ut adversus eum consulari opus esset et duce et exercitu. Praeterea motus Syriae et bella inter reges gesta referuntur. Alexander, homo ignotus et incertae stirpis, occiso, sicut ante dictum est, Demetrio rege in Syria regnabat. Hunc Demetrius Demetri filius, qui a patre quondam ob incertos belli casus ablegatus Cnidon fuerat, contempta socordia inertiaque eius, adiuvante Ptolemaeo Aegypti rege, cuius filiam Cleopatram in matrimonium acceperat, bello interemit. Ptolemaeus graviter in caput vulneratus inter curationem, dum ossa medici terebrare conantur, expiravit, atque in locum eius frater minor Ptolemaeus, qui Cyrenis regnabat, successit. Demetrius ob crudelitatem, quam in suos per tormenta

[1] Cornelius Scipio *Jahn*: C. Africanus Scipio MSS.
[2] is . . . intulit *edd.*: his . . . impulit NPII.

[1] Both triumphs are mentioned by Appian, *African Wars* 135; for Metellus', see also Valerius Maximus VII. i. 1; for Scipio's, Valerius Maximus IV. iii. 13, *C.I.L.* I². 1, p. 176, and Cicero, *de Republica* VI. 11.

[2] The campaigns of 147 and 146 are summarized here, see Appian, *Spanish Wars* 60–67. The consul was Q. Fabius Aemilianus, cf. below, LIII.

[3] This contradicts L above, where Livy apparently took seriously Alexander's claim to be the son of Antiochus Epiphanes (so also Josephus XIII. 35, *I Maccabees* 10); Diodorus XXXI. 32a and Justinus XXXV. i. 6–9 speak of Alexander's low birth.

over Andriscus, and Publius Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus, another over the Carthaginians and Hasdrubal.[1] B.C. 148–144

In Spain, Viriathus, first turning from shepherd to hunter, then from hunter to brigand, presently became commander, too, of a regular army, seized all of Lusitania, and captured Praetor Marcus Vetilius after the rout of his army. Next, Praetor Gaius Plautius had no better success, and this enemy raised up such a threat that a consul and a consular army were required against him.[2]

In addition the book contains an account of the disturbances in Syria and the wars waged between the kings. Alexander, a man of no reputation and of doubtful parentage,[3] was ruling in Syria after killing King Demetrius, as has been previously mentioned. This Alexander was slain in war by Demetrius, son of Demetrius, who had at one time been sent away to Cnidus by his father because of the doubtful fortunes of war; he had scorned Alexander's sluggishness and indolence, and had received assistance from Ptolemy, King of Egypt, whose daughter Cleopatra he had taken in marriage.[4] Ptolemy was severely wounded in the head, and when, in an attempt at healing the wound, the doctors tried to trepan the skull, the king died. His younger brother Ptolemy, the ruler of Cyrene, succeeded to the throne.[5] Because of the cruelty which Demetrius employed in torturing his subjects, he was defeated in battle by a

148–7 B.C. When Ptolemy saw Alexander's misrule, and Hammonius, Alexander's henchman, tried to assassinate him, he abandoned Alexander, took Cleopatra away from him, and gave her to Demetrius. Diodorus XXXII. 9c, Josephus XIII. 103–109, *I Maccabees* 10–14, Justinus XXXV. i. 6–11, and Appian, *Syrian Wars* 67 tell of Demetrius' victory and Alexander's death. The battle was fought at Antioch on the Oenoparas, Strabo XVI. 751.

[5] Ptolemy's death is related by *I Maccabees* 11, 14 ff., and Josephus XIII. 119. On the younger Ptolemy's arrangements with his brother, cf. above, Summaries XLVI and XLVII.

A.U.C. 606–610 exercebat, ab Diodoto quodam, uno ex subiectis, qu Alexandri filio bimulo admodum regnum adserebat, bello superatus Seleuceam confugit. L. Mummius de Achaeis triumphavit, signa aerea marmoreaque et tabulas pictas in triumpho tulit.

Liber LII

L. Mummius [1] C[orinthum diruit. Diaeus
uxore o[ccisa se necavit. A Lusitanis Romanorum
per⟨i⟩uria u[ltis gravis clades
accepta.
A.U.C. 609 Q. Fabio Max[imo L. Hostilio coss.
M. Petron[ius et L. Apuleius legati in Asiam,
adversu[s Viriathum Fabius cos. missus est.
A.U.C. 610 Ser. Galba L. [Cotta coss.
Q.[2] Metell[us, qui pr. Andriscum vicerat, consulatum [post duas repulsas aegre obtinuit.
Qui invis[us plebi ob nimiam severitatem
petituru[s . . .[3]
Syria va[stata bellis regum populus R.
c[on]tent[us fuit legatis ad eos missis.[4]

[1] Mummius *Grenfell-Hunt*: mumanus MS.
[2] Q. *Rossbach*: L. MS.
[3] petiturus Hispaniam conviciis laceratus est *sugg. Rossbach*: petitur vehementissime consulatus *Kornemann*: sed tertium petiturus mitior factus est *Luterbacher*.
[4] Syria vastata *Grenfell-Hunt, cetera Rossbach*: quod inter reges contentum est *Kornemann*: est inter reges contentione orta *Luterbacher*.

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[1] Demetrius had dismissed his Syrian troops, keeping his Cretan mercenaries. A revolt, largely of the unemployed troops, at Antioch brought on the persecutions.

certain Diodotus, one of those subjects, who pressed the claim to the throne of Alexander's son, an infant of only two years. Demetrius took refuge in Seleucia.[1] Lucius Mummius celebrated his triumph over the Achaeans, and carried in the triumphal parade paintings, and statues of bronze and marble.[2] B.C. 148–144

Book LII

Lucius Mummius destroyed Corinth. Diaeus killed his wife and then himself.[3] A severe loss was inflicted by the Lusitanians, who avenged the false oaths of the Romans.

In the consulship of Quintus Fabius Maximus and Lucius Hostilius, Marcus Petronius and Lucius Apuleius were sent as ambassadors to Asia,[4] and Consul Fabius was sent to oppose Viriathus. B.C. 145

In the consulship of Servius Galba and Lucius Cotta, Quintus Metellus, who when praetor had conquered Andriscus, barely won election as consul after being twice rejected. On asking for Spain, he was the target for abuse because he was hated by the commons for his undue strictness.[5] When Syria was ravaged by wars between the kings, the Roman People did no more than send envoys to them.[6] B.C. 144

[2] Vergil, *Aeneid* VI. 836–7 speaks of a triumph over Achaeans and Corinthians, cf. Cicero, *Murena* 31. *C.I.L.* I². 626 says only " he returned in triumph to Rome."
[3] Cf. Pausanias VII. xvi. 6.
[4] Polybius XXXII. 16 (28) mentions an embassy by Gaius Petronius and Lucius Apuleius; the difference in one name and the discrepancy, as it seems, of ten years in date make this restoration uncertain.
[5] The reading is conjectural (see critical note), but is based on *de Viris Illustribus* 61. 3 and Valerius Maximus VII. v. 4.
[6] If the restoration is correct, the implication that the Romans might have been expected to intervene directly in Syria at this time would seem to be a notion of the epitomator rather than of Livy.

A.U.C. 611-613 LIII. Appius Claudius consul Salassos, gentem Alpinam, domuit. Alter Pseudophilippus in Macedonia a L. Tremellio quaestore cum exercitu caesus est. Q. Caecilius Metellus pro cos. Celtiberos cecidit, et a Q. Fabio pro cos. pars magna Lusitaniae expugnatis aliquot urbibus recepta est. Acilius [1] senator Graece res Romanas scribit.

[Liber LIII

A.U.C. 611 Q. Metello [Appio Claudio coss.
Rethog[enis transfugae Centobrigenses
liberos to[rmentorum ictibus obiecerunt.
Proposito a[bstitit Metellus.[2]
col. VII occidit. A Tyresio, quem devici[t, gla]dium
dono accepit saguloque rem[isso am]ici-
ti]ae dextram dedit.
M]etellus cos. a Lusitanis vex[atus est.
S]igna statu⟨a⟩s tabulas Corinth[ias L. M]ummius
distribuit circa oppida et Rom[am ornavit.

[1] Acilius *Hertz*: c. iulius NPR.
[2] *Periit una columna.*

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[1] 143 B.C. Appius Claudius Pulcher took advantage of the strife between the Salassi and the Libicans for the gold-mines of Eporedia, cf. Strabo IV. 205, Dio frg. 74. 1 f. The Salassi were not really "subdued" till Imperial times. Claudius wanted a military victory and got it after some losses; he was refused a triumph by the senate, celebrated it at his own expense, and was protected by his daughter, a Vestal, from a tribune who would have halted him, cf. Valerius Maximus V. iv. 6.

[2] 142 B.C. Cf. Varro, *de Re Rustica* II. iv. 1; Eutropius IV. 15.

[3] 142 B.C. For Metellus, cf. Velleius II. v. 2, Appian, *Spanish Wars* 76. The activity of Quintus Fabius Servilianus fell in 141 B.C., cf. below, LIV, and Appian, *Spanish Wars* 67.

[4] Reference to Gaius Acilius and his history is found in Cicero, *de Officiis* III. 115, Plutarch, *Romulus* xxi. 7, Dionysius III. 67.

LIII. Consul Appius Claudius subdued the Salassi, an Alpine tribe.[1] A second false Philip in Macedonia was slain in the rout of his army by Quaestor Lucius Tremellius.[2] Quintus Caecilius Metellus as proconsul slaughtered the Celtiberians, and a large part of Lusitania was recovered by Quintus Fabius the proconsul, when he had stormed several cities.[3] Acilius, a senator, wrote a history of Rome in Greek.[4] B.C. 143-141

Book LIII

In the consulship of Quintus Metellus and Appius Claudius, the people of Centobriga exposed the children of Rethogenes, a deserter, to the shots of the siege-artillery. Metellus gave up his undertaking.[5] . . . killed. He received a sword as a present from Tyresius, whom he conquered, gave in return a cloak, and clasped his hand in friendship.[6] Consul Metellus was harassed by the Lusitanians.[7] Lucius Mummius distributed statues, monuments, and paintings from Corinth among the towns and adorned Rome with them.[8] B.C. 143

[5] Cf. Valerius Maximus V. i. 5. Rethogenes seems again to have left the Roman side, cf. Valerius Maximus III. ii, ext. 7, perhaps because he had a personal relationship to Metellus which did not include the latter's political opponent Scipio. Following this item a column of text has been lost.

[6] The Roman concerned is Quintus Occius, a staff-officer, cf. below, *Ox.* LIV, and Valerius Maximus III. ii. 21. His exploits bear a resemblance to those of young Manlius (VIII. vii. 1–22) and Lucius Sicinius Dentatus (Aulus Gellius II. xi. 1), which suggests that the story of Occius may have been built up as a publicity measure to compensate for the poor Roman record in these years.

[7] Metellus campaigned against the Celtiberians (above, first LIII) and it is not clear what he had to do with the Lusitanians. This epitomator mentions the latter with notable frequency.

[8] Cf. above, first LII, end.

A.U.C. 613 Cn.] Caepione Q. Pompeio coss.
Q. Fabius Maximus Lusitanis ca[esis
Viriathum fugavit.

A.U.C. 613–615 LIV. Q. Pompeius consul in Hispania Termestinos subegit. Cum isdem et Numantinis pacem a p. R. infirmatam [1] fecit. Lustrum a censoribus conditum est: censa sunt civium capita $\overline{\text{CCCXXVIII}}$ CCCCXLII. Cum Macedonum legati questum de D. Iunio Silano praetore venissent, quod acceptis pecuniis provinciam spoliasset, et senatus de querellis eorum vellet cognoscere, T. Manlius Torquatus, pater Silani, petit impetravitque, ut sibi cognitio mandaretur; et domi causa cognita filium condemnavit abdicavitque. Ac ne funeri quidem eius, cum suspendio vitam finisset, interfuit, sedensque domi potestatem consultantibus ex instituto fecit. Q. Fabius pro cos. rebus in Hispania prospere gestis labem imposuit pace cum Viriatho aequis condicionibus facta. Viriathus a proditoribus consilio Servilii Caepionis interfectus est et ab exercitu suo multum comploratus ac nobiliter sepultus, vir

[1] infirmatam *Gronovius*: ab infirmitate NPII.

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[1] 141 B.C. Pompeius' success was very temporary. He made the treaty with the Numantines to save face after an unsuccessful siege, and then proceeded to repudiate it, denying before his successor and at Rome that he had ever made it. Cf. Appian, *Spanish Wars* 76–79.

[2] The censors were Scipio Africanus and Lucius Mummius, cf. XL. li. 4, Cicero, *Brutus* 85.

[3] 140 B.C., see the *Oxyrhynchus Summary* below. Junius was born a patrician and adopted into a plebeian family—the

In the consulship of Gnaeus Caepio and Quintus Pompeius, Quintus Fabius Maximus crushed the Lusitanians and routed Viriathus. B.C. 141

LIV. Consul Quintus Pompeius subdued the Termestini in Spain, and made with them and the Numantines a peace-treaty which was repudiated by the Roman People.[1] The half-decade was formally closed by the censors.[2] The count of citizens was three hundred and twenty-eight thousand, four hundred, and forty-two. Envoys of the Macedonians came to complain of Praetor Decimus Junius Silanus that he had taken bribes and robbed the province. The senate was prepared to investigate their complaints, when Titus Manlius Torquatus, the father of Silanus, successfully requested that the investigation be delegated to him. Having tried the case at his home, he condemned his son and banished him from his sight. When Silanus ended his life by hanging, his father did not even attend the funeral, but sat at home and was at the service of those who wished his advice, as his custom was.[3] Proconsul Quintus Fabius won successes in Spain, but marred his record by making a peace with Viriathus which recognized his independence.[4] Viriathus was assassinated by traitors instigated by Servilius Caepio; he was deeply mourned by his army and given a magnificent burial. He was a great man and a great B.C. 141–139

earliest known instance of this. The Junii Silani took great pride in the relationship thus acquired, and claimed the Manlii as ancestors, cf. Tacitus, *Annals* III. 76. The condemnation of this Silanus is mentioned also by Cicero, *de Finibus* I. 24 and Valerius Maximus V. viii. 3. Manlius was an expert in jurisprudence, as is intimated in the last sentence.

[4] 140 B.C. Fabius' good fortune apparently ran out, and he was compelled to make peace as indicated, or leave the field to his successor, Servilius; the peace was repudiated through the influence of the latter, cf. Appian 69–75. Florus I. xxxiii. 17, and *de Viris Illustribus* 71. 2 give Popilius, consul in 139 B.C., as the leader against the treaty.

A.U.C. 613–615 duxque magnus et per quattuordecim annos, quibus cum Romanis bellum gessit, frequentius superior.

LIB[ER] LIV

Pompeius cos. a Numantinis d[evictu]s. In Scordiscis cladis accepta.

A.U.C. 614 Q. Cae]pione [C.] Laelio Sapiente [1] c[oss. Appius Claudius evicit, ne duos [delectus] annus haberet. T. Manlius Torquatus D. S[ila]num filium suu[m d]e Macedonia damn[avit, f]uneri non interfuit eademque die [i]n do[mo] sua consultantibus respondit.

C]aepio cos. intellegens Ti. Claudium Assellum [2] tr⟨i⟩b. pl. interpellantem profectionem s]uam l[i]ctore⟨m⟩ stri⟨n⟩gens ensem deterruit.[3]

Q.] Fabius Maximus a Vir⟨i⟩atho devictus de-f]ormem cum hostibus pacem fecit. Q. Occius oppress]us [i]nsidiis Lusitanorum fortissime [cecidit. M. Porc]inae devota [4] est aqua Anio. Aqua Marcia in Capi]tolium contra Sibyllae carmina perducta.]

[1] Sapiente *Grenfell-Hunt*: Salasso MS.

[2] intellegens Ti. Claudium Assellum *Grenfell-Hunt, Rossbach*: indelegem ti. claudi amassilium MS.

[3] suam lictorem stringens ensem deterruit *Rossbach*: strigemreddeterbuit MS: lictores derigendo *Luterbacher*: "Lictor, stragem redde" *Gundermann*.

[4] *suppl., divisit M. Stuart.*

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[1] The assassins were three friends of Viriathus, who had been sent by him to negotiate with Servilius. The latter promised them great rewards, but refused to pay them for the crime. The "fourteen years" go back to the beginning of the Celtiberian War; Viriathus' own resistance lasted eight years, according to Appian 75. Cf. Diodorus XXXIII. 21.

[2] Apparently a punitive expedition from Illyricum failed; no further reference to this matter is known.

leader, and in the fourteen years in which he waged war against the Romans, he had the advantage more often than not.[1] B.C. 141–139

BOOK LIV

Consul Pompeius was thoroughly beaten by the Numantines. A disaster befell the Romans among the Scordisci.[2]

In the consulship of Quintus Caepio and Gaius Laelius the Wise, Appius Claudius successfully recommended that one year should not see two levies.[3] Titus Manlius Torquatus condemned his son Decimus Silanus for his conduct in Macedonia, did not attend his funeral, and on that very day gave answers to those who consulted him in his home. Consul Caepio, perceiving that Tiberius Claudius Asellus, tribune of the commons, was trying to prevent his departure, drew his sword and frightened off the lictor.[4] Quintus Fabius Maximus, after his defeat by Viriathus, made a disgraceful peace with the enemy. Quintus Occius fell most valiantly when trapped by an ambush of the Lusitanians.[5] The Anio aqueduct was sacrificed to M. Porcina. The Marcian aqueduct was continued to the Capitol contrary to the Sibylline prophecies.[6] B.C. 140

[3] This Claudius is presumably the consul of 143 B.C. and father-in-law of Tiberius Gracchus. His resolution against double levies may have been a first move to relieve the commons.

[4] This tribune seems to have been antisenatorial; Scipio, as censor in 142, had tried to demote him from his tribe, but Mummius, the other censor, restored him; Claudius in turn during his tribunate brought Scipio to trial, cf. Gellius III. iv. 1 and IV. xvii. 1, Cicero, *de Oratore* II. 258, 268.

[5] Cf. above, *Ox.* LIII, page 47 note 6.

[6] According to Frontinus, *Aqueducts* I. 7, repairs to the Old Anio and the building of the Marcia were begun in 145 B.C.; debate on the propriety of bringing water to the Capitol continued till 140 B.C., when, says Frontinus, the influence of Marcius Rex, original officer in charge, carried the day. M. Aemilius Lepidus Porcina opposed extending the Anio.

col. VIII A.U.C. 615

Cn. Pisone C. Po⟨pi⟩lli[o coss.
Chaldaei urbe ⟨e⟩t It[alia abire iussi sunt.
A. Gabinius, verna[e nepos, legem tulit ut
suffragium per ta[bellam ferretur.
Servilius Caepio a[b equitibus quos Viriatho
obiecerat claus[us [1] praetorio et paene ustus.
Audax Minurus ⟨D⟩ita[lco a Caepione corrupti
Viriathum iugula[verunt.

A.U.C. 512–618

LV. P. Cornelio Nasica, cui cognomen Serapion fuit ab inridente Curiatio tribuno plebis impositum, et Dec. Iunio Bruto consulibus dilectum habentibus in conspectu tironum res saluberrimi exempli facta est. Nam C. Matienius accusatus est apud tribunos plebis, quod exercitum ex Hispania deseruisset, damnatusque sub furca diu virgis caesus est et sestertio nummo veniit. Tribuni plebis quia non impetrarent ut sibi denos, quos vellent, milites eximere liceret, consules in carcerem duci iusserunt. Iunius Brutus consul in Hispania iis, qui sub Viriatho militaverant, agros et oppidum dedit, quod vocatum est Valentia. M. Popilius a Numantinis, cum quibus pacem factam irritam fieri senatus censuerat, cum exercitu

[1] clausus *Rossbach*: clauo MS.

[1] Their soothsaying was the difficulty, cf. Valerius Maximus I. iii. 3.

[2] Gabinius had served under Metellus in Macedonia and was at this time a tribune, cf. Cicero, *de Legibus* III. 35, Polybius XXXVIII. 12. 1 f. (L.C.L.).

[3] Cf. Dio XXII. frg. 78.

[4] 138 B.C. On the nickname, which came to be generally used, cf. Valerius Maximus IX. xiv. 3; Pliny, *Natural History* VII. 54 and XXI. 10.

[5] Frontinus IV. i. 20 describes this as happening to "deserters" at this time, cf. *Ox. Summary* below.

[6] Cicero, *de Legibus* III. 20 gives this as the action of the above-mentioned (Gaius) Curiatius, who first clashed with the consuls over a distribution of grain, Valerius Maximus III. vii. 3. The *Oxyrhynchus Summary*, below also mentions

In the consulship of Gnaeus Piso and Gaius Popillius, B.C. 139 the Chaldaeans were ordered to leave Rome and Italy.[1] Aulus Gabinius, grandson of a home-born slave woman, carried a law that electoral votes should be cast by ballot.[2] Servilius Caepio was shut up in his headquarters and almost burned by the cavalry whom he had exposed to Viriathus.[3] Audax, Minurus, and Ditalco were bribed by Caepio to cut Viriathus' throat.

LV. While Consuls Publius Cornelius Nasica [4] (whose nickname was Serapio—a name given him in mockery by Curiatius, a tribune of the commons) and Decimus Junius Brutus were holding the levy, an occurrence took place which gave very salutary instruction to the recruits who were looking on. For Gaius Matienius was accused before the tribunes of the commons of having deserted from the army in Spain, and on being condemned was put in the yoke and given a prolonged beating with rods, and was sold into slavery for one sestertius.[5] Because tribunes of the commons did not succeed in obtaining the right to choose ten men apiece for exemption from the levy, they ordered the consuls taken to the gaol.[6] Consul Junius Brutus in Spain gave to those who had served under Viriathus land and a town, which is called Valentia.[7] Marcus Popilius and his army were routed and put to flight by the Numantines, after a peace treaty made with them had been declared void by the senate.[8] When B.C. 142–136

Servius Licinius as a tribune concerned. Nasica was a consistent antidemocrat, cf. his role in suppressing Tiberius Gracchus, Plutarch, *Tiberius Gracchus* xiii. 3.

[7] This may not have been Brutus' first act in Spain, cf. the account below of his campaigns, and also LVI; but if Valentia was the present Valencia, the removal of Viriathus' men to the east coast would have been a good early move.

[8] Popilius was consul in 139, and was in Spain as proconsul, cf. Appian, *Spanish Wars* 79, and Frontinus III. xvii. The repudiated treaty was the treaty of Pompeius, cf. above LIV, and note 4, p. 49.

A.U.C. 612–618 fusus fugatusque est. C. Hostilio Mancino consule sacrificante pulli ex cavea evolaverunt; conscendenti deinde navem, ut in Hispaniam proficisceretur, accidit vox "mane, Mancine": quae auspicia tristia fuisse eventu probatum [1] est. Et victus enim a Numantinis et castris exutus, cum spes nulla servandi exercitus esset, pacem cum his fecit ignominiosam, quam ratam esse senatus [2] vetuit. $\overline{XXXX}$[3] Romanorum ab quattuor milibus Numantinorum victa erant. Decimus Iunius Lusitaniam expugnationibus urbium usque ad Oceanum perdomuit; et cum flumen Oblivionem transire nollent, raptum signifero signum ipse transtulit et sic, ut transgrederentur, persuasit. Alexandri filius, rex Syriae, decem annos admodum habens, a Diodoto, qui Tryphon cognominabatur, tutore suo, per fraudem occisus est corruptis medicis, qui illum calculi dolore consumi ad populum mentiti, dum secant, occiderunt.

Lib[er LV

A.U.C. 616 P. Sc[i]pione D. Iunio [coss.
interfectores Viri[athi urbe pulsi sunt, praemium negatum. C[um ex cu]ria [P. Scipionem et Decim. Bru[tum coss.] S. Licini[us et C. Curiatius trib. pl. in carc[er]em [c]oll[ocavissent, precibus populi mul[t]a re[missa . . ., qui trib. pl. pro commodis pop[uli agebat et

[1] probatum G: promptum *MSS. vetera.*
[2] senatus *add.* GR: *om. vetera.*
[3] $\overline{XXXX}$ *Jahn:* $\overline{XXX}$ NPΠR.

[1] Mancinus attempted to withdraw from Numantia by night, because the discipline of his army was bad, and there were rumours of uprisings in his rear. The Numantines happened to catch him leaving. The numbers involved are probably exaggerated, but the emended reading is based on Florus I. xxxiv. 2. The repudiation of the treaty by which Mancinus' force was released from the trap was not in accord

Consul Gaius Hostilius Mancinus was offering sacrifice, B.C. 142–136 the chickens flew out of the coop; when thereafter he was going aboard ship to leave for Spain, the cry was heard "Stay, Mancinus!" That these were omens of evil was demonstrated by the outcome. For Mancinus was both defeated by the Numantines and stripped of his camp; when no hope remained of saving his army, he made with them a disgraceful peace, confirmation of which was refused by the senate. Forty thousand Romans were beaten by four thousand Numantines.[1] Decimus Junius thoroughly subdued Lusitania by storming its cities all the way to the Ocean. When his men refused to cross the River Oblivion, he seized the standard from its bearer, carried it across, and thus induced the soldiers to pass over.[2] The King of Syria, son of Alexander, who was only ten years old, was killed by treachery on the part of his guardian Diodotus, whose nickname was "The Luxurious"; Diodotus bribed the doctors, who represented to the people that the boy was wasting away from suffering with a stone, and killed him on the operating table.[3]

Book LV

In the consulship of Publius Scipio and Decimus B.C. 138 Junius, the murderers of Viriathus were driven from Rome and refused a reward.[4] When Sextus Licinius and Gaius Curiatius, tribunes of the commons, took Consuls Publius Scipio and Decimus Brutus from the senate-house to the gaol, at the entreaty of the people the fine was remitted . . ., who as tribune of the commons had been working for the good of the people, and who died to

with Roman pride in Roman good faith. Cf. Plutarch, *Tiberius Gracchus* v; Appian, *Spanish Wars* 79–80; and for the sequel, below, LVI.

[2] 137–136 B.C. Brutus had to reconquer some peoples who revolted after Mancinus' defeat had damaged Roman prestige.

[3] 142 B.C. Cf. Appian, *Syrian Wars* 68.

[4] Cf. Orosius V. 4. 14; Eutropius IV. 16.

A.U.C. 616 omnibus luct⟨u⟩i expiravit, co[e]un[te plebe elatus. Desertores in comitio virgis cae[si sunt et sestertiis singulis venierunt.
P. Africanus cum L. Cottam [accu]sar[et, iudices ob magnitudinem nom[inis eum] cad[ere noluerunt.
Lusitani vastati. A N[uman]tin[is clades accepta.
Diodotus Tryphon An[tioc]hum [regem occidit Suriaque potitus e[st.

A.U.C. 617 M. Aemilio C. Hostilio M[an]cino [coss.
Decimus Brutus in Hispania re b[ene gesta Oblivionis flumen planus trans[iit.

A.U.C. 618–620 LVI. Decimus Iunius Brutus in Hispania ulteriore feliciter adversus Gallaecos pugnavit. Dissimili eventu M. Aemilius Lepidus pro cos. adversus Vaccaeos rem gessit clademque similem Numantinae passus est. Ad exsolvendum foederis Numantini religione populum Mancinus, cum huius rei auctor fuisset, deditus Numan-

[1] It is impossible to restore the name of this tribune.

[2] *I.e.*, Cotta was acquitted. This interpretation of the over-abbreviated text is based on references to this affair in Cicero, *pro Murena* xxviii. 58; *Divinatio in Caecilium* xxi. 69; Valerius Maximus VIII. i. *acquittal* 11 (Valerius speaks of a trial "before the people," and it should be noted that the words in our text indicating a court are restored). The view of the acquittal here given is the pro-senatorial view; Appian, *Civil Wars* I. iii. 22 cites the case as typical of the bribery and corruption of senatorial courts. Probably both the prosecution and the acquittal were politically motivated. The date of the trial has been usually given as 132–129 B.C., because Cicero refers to Scipio as twice consul, and conqueror of Numantia; from our text, it is clear that this date must be abandoned, and that Cicero, who wanted to emphasize the great reputation and prestige of Scipio, did not bother to

everyone's grief, his funeral was escorted by a gathering of the commons.[1] Deserters were beaten with rods in the assembly place and sold into slavery for a sestertius apiece. When Publius Africanus accused Lucius Cotta, the judges were unwilling to let the defendant lose because of the greatness of the prosecutor's reputation.[2] The Lusitanians were ravaged. A disaster was inflicted by the Numantines.[3] Diodotus the Luxurious killed King Antiochus and took possession of Syria. B.C. 138

In the consulship of Marcus Aemilius and Gaius Hostilius Mancinus, Decimus Brutus after a successful campaign in Spain made no bones about crossing the River Oblivion.[4] B.C. 137

LVI. Decimus Junius Brutus conducted a successful campaign against the Gallaeci in Farther Spain.[5] The outcome was otherwise when Pro-consul Marcus Aemilius Lepidus marched against the Vaccaei: he suffered a reverse comparable to that before Numantia.[6] In order to release the Roman People from the binding force of the treaty with Numantia, Mancinus was surrendered to the Numantines as the man responsible for this arrangement, B.C. 136–134

note that he had not yet performed his second great feat of arms.

[3] Details about the mopping-up in Lusitania and the customary lack of success before Numantia are not known.

[4] It is not clear what meaning is to be given to *planus*, referring to Brutus; some editors prefer to change the Latin; I have given a somewhat far-fetched interpretation, which seems to make better sense than the more usual meaning "flat, on the level, not elevated," which is commonly applied to things, and which Rossbach seems to favour, and the possible meaning "bare-footed."

[5] The final success of Brutus was in 134 B.C., cf. Appian, *Spanish Wars* 73–75, 99, where the name Sextus is incorrect; Strabo III. 152 f.; Velleius II. v. 1.

[6] 136 B.C. Lepidus undertook the campaign on his own initiative; he was recalled and fined by the senate, cf. Appian 80–83.

A.U.C. 618-620

tinis non est receptus. Lustrum a censoribus conditum est; censa sunt civium capita CCCXVII DCCCCXXXIII. Fulvius Flaccus consul Vardaeos in Illyrico subegit. M. Cosconius [1] praetor in Thracia cum Scordiscis prospere pugnavit. Cum bellum Numantinum vitio ducum non sine pudore publico duraret, delatus est ultro Scipioni Africano a senatu populoque Romano consulatus; quem cum illi capere ob legem, quae vetabat quemquam iterum consulem fieri, non liceret, sicut priori consulatu legibus solutus est. Bellum servile in Sicilia ortum cum opprimi a praetoribus non potuisset, C. Fulvio consuli mandatum est. Huius belli initium fuit Eunus servus, natione Syrus; qui contracta agrestium servorum manu et solutis ergastulis iusti exercitus numerum implevit. Cleon quoque alter servus ad septuaginta milia servorum contraxit; et iunctis copiis adversus exercitum Romanum bellum saepe gesserunt.

[1] Cosconius *Sigonius*: cossonius NPΠ: Cesonius BR.

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[1] The " binding force of the treaty " was, as indicated by the Latin word, the religious taboo involved in a broken oath. Breach of the arrangement by which Mancinus' force was released from a trap was not in accord with Roman pride in Roman good faith; a sufficient commentary is furnished by the words credited by Livy to the Samnites after the similar occasion at the Caudine Forks (IX. xi). Mancinus was restored to full status at Rome by action of the Roman assembly. Cf. Plutarch, *Tiberius Gracchus* v; Appian 80, 83; Velleius II. i. 4 f.

[2] 134 B.C. The censors were Appius Claudius Pulcher and Quintus Fulvius Nobilior.

[3] Cf. Appian, *Illyrian Wars* ii. 10.

[4] 135 B.C. Cosconius seems to have continued as governor of Macedonia for several years, since his name appears on inscriptions referring to the disturbances in 133 B.C. after the

but was not received by them.[1] The half-decade was formally closed by the censors; the number of citizens enumerated was three hundred and seventeen thousand, nine hundred and thirty-three.[2] Consul Fulvius Flaccus overcame the Vardaei in Illyricum.[3] Praetor Marcus Cosconius fought successfully against the Scordisci in Thrace.[4] Since the Numantine War was dragging along through the fault of the commanders and to the shame of the State, the consulship was offered to Scipio Africanus on the initiative of the senate and the Roman People. He was forbidden to accept this office by a law which ruled that no one should be consul a second time, but as in his first consulship, Scipio was exempted from legal restrictions.[5] A slave revolt arose in Sicily, and when the praetors could not suppress it, command was assigned to Consul Gaius Fulvius.[6] The instigator of this revolt was Eunus, a slave of Syrian nationality; he assembled a force of rural slaves, opened the workhouses, and raised his numbers to those of a regular army. Another slave, Cleon, also assembled as many as seventy thousand slaves, and when the forces had joined, they frequently took the field against the Roman army.[7]

B.C. 136-134

Pergamene kingdom was given to Rome. The Scordisci were raiding from the north-west.

[5] The law against a second consulship seems to have been passed in 151 B.C. Since Scipio was granted neither troops nor funds for his campaign, his appointment must have been less universally supported than the above statement would indicate.

[6] Cf. Orosius V. ix. 6. Gaius Fulvius (Flaccus) was consul in 134 B.C. with Scipio.

[7] The beginning of the revolt was perhaps in 136 B.C. Eunus won his leadership by charlatanry, but was supported by some of the poorest freemen, as well as slaves. Diodorus XXXIV. 2 gives the greatest number involved as 200,000; the figure of 70,000 is given as the total by Orosius V. vi. 4, and was perhaps misunderstood by the epitomator. Cleon was Cilician in nationality. The final sentence seems curiously flat; Rossbach suggests reading " fought savagely " (*saeve* for *saepe*).

A.U.C. 620 LVII. Scipio Africanus Numantiam obsedit et corruptum licentia luxuriaque exercitum ad severissimam militiae disciplinam revocavit. Omnia deliciarum instrumenta recidit; duo milia scortorum a castris eiecit; militem cotidie in opere habuit et triginta dierum frumentum ad septenos vallos ferre cogebat. Aegre propter onus incedenti dicebat: "cum gladio te vallare scieris, vallum ferre desinito". Alii scutum parum habiliter ferenti, amplius eum scutum iusto ferre, neque id se reprehendere, quando melius scuto quam gladio uteretur. Quem militem extra ordinem deprehendit, si Romanus esset, vitibus, si extraneus, virgis cecidit. Iumenta omnia, ne exonerarent militem, vendidit. Saepe adversus eruptiones hostium feliciter pugnavit. Vaccaei obsessi liberis coniugibusque trucidatis ipsi se interemerunt. Scipio amplissima munera missa sibi ab Antiocho rege Syriae, cum celare aliis imperatoribus regum munera mos esset, pro tribunali accepturum [1] se esse dixit omniaque ea quaestorem referre in publicas tabulas iussit: ex his se viris fortibus dona esse daturum.[2] Cum undique Numantiam obsidione clusisset et obsessos fame videret urgeri, hostes, qui pabulatum exierant, vetuit occidi, quod diceret velocius eos absumpturos frumenti quod haberent, si plures fuissent.

A.U.C. 621 LVIII. Tib. Sempronius Gracchus tribunus plebis cum legem agrariam ferret adversus voluntatem senatus et equestris ordinis, ne quis ex publico agro plus quam mille

[1] accepturum *Freudenberg*: ea accepturum MSS.
[2] se viris f.d. esse daturum *Halm*: se veris f.d. se daturum N: severis, *etc.* P.

[1] 134–133 B.C. Cf. Appian 84–98, presumably based on Polybius. The existence of Polybius' eye-witness account may explain the detail of Livy's story.
[2] This side-issue of Scipio's campaign may derive its high colour from a Roman annalist. According to Appian, *Spanish Wars* xiv. 87, Scipio ravaged the crops of the

LVII. Scipio Africanus besieged Numantia and recalled his army to the most stringent military discipline, after it had been corrupted by being allowed to indulge itself.[1] Scipio cut off all apparatus of pleasure; he cast out of camp two thousand prostitutes; he kept the soldiery at work daily and compelled them to carry thirty days' grain and seven stakes apiece. When someone had difficulty in marching because of his load, Scipio would tell him, "When you know how to entrench yourself behind your sword, you may stop carrying your rampart with you." To another who was having difficulty in carrying his shield, Scipio said, "You are carrying a shield larger than the regulation; I don't blame you; you're better at managing a shield than a sword."[2] If a soldier was caught out of ranks, Scipio had him beaten with vines, if a Roman, and with rods, if a foreigner. He sold all the baggage animals, so that they might not relieve the soldiers of their loads. He won frequent successes against enemy sallies. The Vaccaei when besieged slaughtered their wives and children and committed suicide.[2] When magnificent gifts were sent to Scipio by Antiochus the King of Syria, although it was the custom of other commanders to conceal gifts from kings, Scipio declared that he would receive the gifts with public formality, and he ordered the quaestor to enter all the gifts in the official accounts; from these, said Scipio, he proposed to give presents to brave men. When he had completed the circumvallation of Numantia and saw that the besieged were hard pressed by hunger, he gave orders that the enemy who came out to forage should not be killed, because he said that they would the sooner exhaust what grain they had if there were more of them. B.C. 134

LVIII. Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, a tribune of the commons, carried a land law against the desires of the senate and the order of knights, to the effect that no one B.C. 133

Vaccaei, to prevent their helping Numantia, but made no attempt on their cities.

A.U.C. 621 iugera possideret, in eum furorem exarsit, ut M. Octavio collegae causam diversae partis defendenti potestatem lege lata abrogaret seque et C.[1] Gracchum fratrem et Appium Claudium socerum triumviros ad dividendum agrum crearet. Promulgavit et aliam legem agrariam, qua sibi latius agrum patefaceret, ut idem triumviri iudicarent, qua publicus ager, qua privatus esset. Deinde cum minus agri esset quam quod dividi posset sine offensa etiam plebis, quoniam eos ad cupiditatem amplum modum sperandi incitaverat, legem se promulgaturum ostendit, ut his, qui Sempronia lege agrum accipere deberent, pecunia, quae regis Attali fuisset, divideretur. Heredem autem populum Romanum reliquerat Attalus, rex Pergami, Eumenis filius. Tot indignitatibus commotus graviter senatus, ante omnis T. Annius consularis,[2] qui cum[3] in senatu in Gracchum perorasset, raptus ab eo ad populum delatusque plebi, rursus in eum pro rostris contionatus est. Cum iterum tribunus plebis creari vellet Gracchus, auctore P. Cornelio Nasica in Capitolio ab optimatibus occisus est, ictus primum fragmentis subsellii, et inter alios, qui in eadem seditione occisi erant, insepultus in flumen proiectus. Res praeterea in Sicilia vario eventu adversus fugitivos gestas continet.

[1] C. *add. Sigonius*: *om.* NPIIR.
[2] consularis *Drakenborch*: cos. NPR.
[3] cum *add.* R: *om.* MSS.

[1] The limit is usually stated as 500 *iugera*; the figure above is perhaps the total allowed to a family or household group, cf. *C.A.H.* IX, p. 23.

[2] 133 B.C. Cf. Plutarch, *Tiberius Gracchus*. Tiberius' action against Octavius was based on a justified sense that a tribune, traditionally a defender of the commons, should not act for the "haves" against the "have-nots"; but balancing one magistrate against another was a key-principle of the Roman constitution. Roman political tact—the instinct for adjusting to the grievances and rights of others—begins to break down at this point; the partisan spirit led to civil war within fifty years. Losses in Spain may have made acute the problems Tiberius was striving to solve.

should occupy more than a thousand acres of public land[1]; B.C. 133 Gracchus then went so insane as to remove from office by special enactment his colleague Marcus Octavius, who was supporting the other side of the controversy[2]; Gracchus also had himself, his brother Gaius Gracchus, and Appius Claudius his father-in-law elected as the board of three in charge of distributing the land. He also proposed a second land law, in order to put more land at his disposal, that the same commissioners should judge which land was public and which private. Then when there was less land than could be divided up without incurring the hostility of the commons too, because Gracchus had stirred them up to be greedy enough to hope for a large amount, he declared that he would propose a law that the fortune which had belonged to King Attalus should be divided among those who ought to receive land under the Sempronian Law. For Attalus, son of Eumenes, King of Pergamum had made the Roman People his heir.[3]

The senate was deeply stirred by so many actions ignoring its prestige; the ex-consul Titus Annius was especially moved.[4] After he had delivered a speech in the senate against Gracchus, he was summoned before the people by the latter, and accused before the commons; Annius again made a public address against Gracchus from the Rostra. When Gracchus wished to be elected tribune of the commons for the second time, he was killed on the Capitol by men of the "upper class" led by Publius Cornelius Nasica. Gracchus was first struck down with pieces of a bench, and then with others who were killed in the same riot was thrown unburied into the river. The book also contains an account of the campaigns conducted in Sicily against the fugitive slaves with varying success.

[3] Attalus died of disease (Strabo XIII. 624) or sunstroke (Justinus XXXVI. iv. 5). His bequest to Rome is attested by Pergamene inscription 249.

[4] Titus Annius (Luscus) had been consul in 153 B.C. Cf. Plutarch, *Tiberius* xiv. Annius' speech against Tiberius is quoted by Festus 316 (= 416 Lindsay).

A.U.C. 621–625

LIX. Numantini fame coacti ipsi se per vicem traicientes [1] trucidaverunt, captam urbem Scipio Africanus delevit et de ea triumphavit, quarto decimo anno post [2] Carthaginem deletam. P. Rupilius [3] consul in Sicilia cum fugitivis debellavit. Aristonicus Eumenis regis filius Asiam occupavit, cum testamento Attali regis legata populo Romano libera esse deberet. Adversus eum P. Licinius Crassus consul, cum idem pontifex maximus esset,[4] quod numquam antea factum erat, extra Italiam profectus proelio victus et occisus est. M. Perperna consul victum Aristonicum in deditionem accepit. Q. Pompeius Q. Metellus, tunc primum uterque ex plebe facti censores, lustrum condiderunt: censa sunt civium capita CCCXVIII DCCCXXIII, praeter pupillos [5] pupillas et viduas. Q. Metellus censor censuit, ut cogerentur omnes ducere uxores liberorum creandorum causa. Extat oratio eius, quam Augustus Caesar, cum [6] de maritandis ordinibus ageret, velut in haec tempora scriptam in senatu recitavit.

[1] traicientes *Rossbach*: tradentes MSS.
[2] quarto decimo anno post R: post XIIII annos MSS.
[3] Rupilius *Sigonius*: autilius NPII: Rutilius G: C. Atilius R.
[4] esset *add. edd.*: *om.* MSS.
[5] pupillos *add. Mommsen*: pupillos et R: *om.* MSS.
[6] cum *add.* GR: *om. vetera.*

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[1] 133 B.C. Cf. Appian, *Spanish Wars* 96–98.
[2] 132 B.C. Cf. Diodorus XXXIV. ii. 20–23; Valerius Maximus II. vii. 3; VI. ix. 8; IX. xii. ext. 1.
[3] Aristonicus, a natural son of Eumenes, laid claim to the kingdom on the death of Attalus in 133 B.C. After being checked by the Ephesians, he adopted the cause of the oppressed slaves and proletariat, and promised an equalitarian state. He won great successes, including the defeat of Crassus

LIX. The Numantines, being hard pressed by hunger, thrust one another through and slew themselves; Scipio Africanus captured and destroyed the town and celebrated his triumph over it, in the fourteenth year after the destruction of Carthage.[1] Consul Publius Rupilius brought an end to the war in Sicily against the fugitive slaves.[2] Aristonicus, a son of King Eumenes, seized Asia, although it was to be autonomous after it had been bequeathed to the Roman People by the will of King Attalus. Consul Publius Licinius Crassus, who was also chief pontiff—a situation which had never arisen before—left Italy to oppose Aristonicus, was beaten in battle, and was killed. Consul Marcus Perperna overcame Aristonicus and received his surrender.[3] Quintus Pompeius and Quintus Metellus, censors both of plebeian origin—the first time this had happened—formally closed the half-decade; there were enumerated three hundred and eighteen thousand, eight hundred and twenty-three citizens, not counting wards of both sexes, and widows.[4] Censor Quintus Metellus proposed that everyone should be compelled to marry in order to produce children. His speech is preserved, and was read by Augustus Caesar before the senate as though written for the present day, when the emperor was discussing the problem of marriage

B.C. 133–129

(Dives Mucianus). The latter was consul in 131 B.C.; he was a partisan of the Gracchi; as consul he used his power as chief pontiff to bar his colleague, who was also a priest, from the command in Asia, but disregarded the restriction on himself, as hinted in the text. His defeat occurred in 130 B.C., as he was about to retire from the province. Perperna, consul in 130 B.C., was a plebeian and a "new man." He died shortly after the defeat of Aristonicus, who was later executed at Rome.

[4] 129 B.C. His plebeian status did not prevent Metellus (Macedonicus) from being a determined opponent of the Gracchi. In fact, the election of two plebeians to the most dignified of offices would indicate that the distinction between patrician and plebeian had lost all importance, even as a technicality.

A.U.C. 621–625 C. Atinius [1] Labeo tribunus plebis Q. Metellum censorem, a quo in [2] senatu legendo praeteritus erat, de saxo deici [3] iussit; quod ne fieret, ceteri tribuni plebis auxilio fuerunt. Cum Carbo tribunus plebis rogationem tulisset, ut eundem tribunum pleb., quotiens vellet, creare liceret, rogationem eius P. Africanus gravissima oratione dissuasit; in qua dixit Ti. Gracchum iure caesum videri. C.[4] Gracchus contra suasit rogationem, sed Scipio tenuit.[5] Bella inter Antiochum Syriae et Phraaten Parthorum regem gesta nec magis quietae res Aegypti referuntur. Ptolemaeus Euergetes cognominatus, ob nimiam crudelitatem suis invisus, incensa a populo regia clam Cypron profugit; et cum sorori eius Cleopatrae, quam filia eius virgine per vim compressa atque in matrimonium ducta repudiaverat, regnum a populo datum esset, infensus filium, quem ex illa habebat, in [6] Cypro occidit caputque eius et manus et pedes matri misit. Seditiones a triumviris Fulvio Flacco et C. Graccho et C. Papirio Carbone agro dividendo creatis excitatae. Cum P. Scipio Africanus adversaretur fortisque ac validus pridie domum se recepisset, mortuus in cubiculo

[1] Atinius *Frobenius*: atilius NPΠ.
[2] in *add. Rossbach*: *om.* MSS.
[3] saxo deici *edd.*: saxa fieri NPΠ: saxo ferri B.
[4] C. *add. Gronovius*: *om.* MSS.
[5] tenuit *Frobenius*: censuit MSS.
[6] in *add.* Norvicenis, R, *om. vetera.*

[1] On Metellus' speech, cf. Suetonius, *Augustus* 89; Gellius I. vi., where the speech is wrongly ascribed to Metellus Numidicus.

[2] 131 B.C. Cf. Cicero, *de Domo Sua* 123; Pliny, *Natural History* VII. xliv (142–6). Atinius also tried to confiscate Metellus' property by dedicating it to a god, but failed.

[3] On Carbo's oratory at this time, cf. Cicero, *de Oratore* II. 170, and *de Amicitia* 96. Carbo belonged to the party of the Gracchi, but changed over after the death of Gaius. The exact saying of Scipio about Tiberius is quoted by Velleius II. iv. 4: "If he planned a *coup d'état*, he was justly killed."

among the upper classes.[1] Gaius Atinius Labeo, tribune of the commons, ordered Censor Quintus Metellus, who had passed him by in revising the roll of the senate, to be thrown from the Tarpeian Rock; the other tribunes of the commons came to the aid of Metellus to prevent this from taking place.[2] When Carbo, a tribune of the commons, proposed a law that it should be permissible to re-elect a man tribune of the commons as often as he chose, Publius Africanus argued against the law in a very weighty speech, in the course of which he said that he thought that Tiberius Gracchus had been killed justly. Gaius Gracchus on the other hand argued for the law, but Scipio carried the day.[3] B.C. 133–129

An account is given of the wars between King Antiochus of Syria and King Phraates of Parthia,[4] and of the no less disturbed situation in Egypt. Ptolemy, surnamed the Benefactor, being hated by his people because of his excessive cruelty, fled secretly to Cyprus after his palace had been set on fire by the populace. When the crown was given by the people to his sister Cleopatra, whom he had divorced after violating and marrying her virgin daughter, Ptolemy in his anger killed in Cyprus the son he had had by Cleopatra and sent the head, hands, and feet to the child's mother.[5]

Civil disturbances were incited by the board of three—Fulvius Flaccus, Gaius Gracchus, and Gaius Papirius Carbo—elected to divide the land. After Publius Scipio Africanus had appeared in opposition, and had returned home that day in vigorous good health, he was found

[4] Antiochus VII Euergetes Sidetes campaigned against Phraates II in 130 B.C. with great success, but was defeated and killed in the following year.

[5] The involved matrimonial arrangements, of which Livy shows the worst aspect, did not prevent Ptolemy and the two Cleopatras, mother and daughter, from ruling Egypt jointly from 143–2 B.C. to 132–1. Cf. Valerius Maximus IX. i. ext. 5. The story of Ptolemy's revenge is told also by Diodorus XXXIV. 14 and Justinus XXXVIII. viii. 13–14.

A.U.C. 621–625 inventus est. Suspecta fuit, tamquam ei venenum dedisset, Sempronia uxor hinc maxime, quod soror esset Gracchorum, cum quibus simultas Africano fuerat. De morte tamen eius nulla quaestio acta. Defuncto eo acrius seditiones triumvirales exarserunt. C. Sempronius consul adversus Iapydas [1] primo male rem gessit; mox victoria cladem acceptam emendavit virtute Decimi Iunii Bruti, eius qui Lusitaniam subegerat.

A.U.C. 629–633 LX. L. Aurelius consul bellantes Sardos subegit. M. Fulvius Flaccus primus Transalpinos Liguras domuit bello, missus in auxilium Massiliensium adversus Salluvios Gallos, qui fines Massiliensium populabantur. L. Opimius praetor Fregellanos, qui defecerant, in deditionem accepit, Fregellas diruit. Pestilentia in Africa ab ingenti lucustarum multitudine et deinde necatarum strage fuisse traditur. Lustrum a censoribus conditum est: censa sunt civium capita $\overline{\text{CCCXCIIII}}$ DCCXXXVI. C. [2]

[1] Iapydas *Sigonius, Gruter*: Iapygas NPΠR.
[2] C. *add. Frobenius*: *om.* MSS.

[1] 129 B.C. Suspicion of foul play was widespread and eagerly adopted as a partisan weapon; but it was directed against Carbo as much as against the Gracchan ladies, and seems to have had no genuine foundation in fact, cf., *e.g.*, Cicero, *de Amicitia* v. 10–12. 14 and the *scholia Bobiensia* on *pro Milone* p. 283.

[2] Besides annoying the large landholders, the commissioners were infringing on the autonomy of the "allies" in Italy by questioning the land-tenure of non-Romans.

[3] 129 B.C., cf. *C.I.L.* I², p. 48 (Sempronius Tuditanus triumphs over the "Iapudes"), and Appian, *Illyrian Wars* 10.

[4] 126–3 B.C., cf. Plutarch, *Gaius Gracchus* i. Aurelius celebrated his triumph in 122 B.C., *C.I.L.* I², pp. 49, 53.

[5] 125 B.C. Fulvius was a strong supporter of the Gracchi and had come out in favour of extending Roman citizenship to the Latin allies, cf. Plutarch, *Gaius Gracchus* xv. 1 and *C.I.L.* I², p. 49. The Salluvii are sometimes called Ligurians, sometimes distinguished from them, *e.g.*, Strabo IV. vi. 3; culturally at least they were close to the Gauls. Cf. below, LXI.

[6] 125 B.C. The revolt arose over the question of granting citizenship, or at least the right of appeal to the Roman People, to the Latin allies.

[7] 125 B.C. Additional details are given below, Obsequens 30. Other plagues of locusts are mentioned above, XXX. ii. 10, XLII. ii. 5 and x. 7, see also Orosius V. xi. 2 ff.

[8] The censors were Lucius Cassius Longinus Ravilla, famed for his enunciation of the judicial principle "Cui bono?" and Gnaeus Servilius Caepio (Frontinus, *Aqueducts* I. 8; Cicero, *Verres* II. I. 143; *pro Roscio Amerino* 84).

next day dead in his bedchamber. His wife Sempronia was suspected of having poisoned him, chiefly on the ground that she was the sister of the Gracchi with whom Scipio had been quarrelling. However, no judicial investigation of his death was held.[1] After his death, the disturbances centring around the Board of Three blazed up more fiercely.[2] Consul Gaius Sempronius at first met with no success against the Iapydae; presently the loss incurred was cancelled by a victory won through the ability of Decimus Junius Brutus, the man who had conquered Lusitania.[3] B.C. 133–129

LX. Consul Lucius Aurelius subdued the Sardi who went to war.[4] Marcus Fulvius Flaccus was the first to overcome the transalpine Ligurians in war; he had been sent to help the people of Marseilles against the Salluvian Gauls who were ravaging the territory of Marseilles.[5] Praetor Lucius Opimius received the surrender of the Fregellans, who had revolted, and destroyed Fregellae.[6] It is recorded that a plague arose in Africa from the great number of locusts and the masses of them that were killed.[7] The half-decade was formally closed by the censors; there were enumerated three hundred and ninety-four thousand, seven hundred and thirty-six citizens.[8] B.C. 126–121

A.U.C. 629–633 Gracchus, Tiberii frater, tribunus plebis, eloquentior quam frater, perniciosas aliquot leges tulit, inter quas frumentariam, ut senis et [1] triente frumentum plebi daretur; alteram legem agrariam, quam et frater eius tulerat [2]; tertiam, qua equestrem ordinem, tunc cum senatu consentientem, corrumperet, ut sescenti ex equite [3] in curiam sublegerentur et, quia illis temporibus trecenti tantum senatores erant, sescenti equites trecentis senatoribus admiscerentur, id est ut equester ordo bis tantum virium in senatu haberet. Et continuato in alterum annum tribunatu legibus agrariis latis effecit, ut complures coloniae in Italia deducerentur, et una in solo dirutae Carthaginis; quo ipse triumvir creatus coloniam deduxit. Praeterea res a Q. Metello consule adversus Baleares gestas continet, quos Graeci Gymnesios [4] appellant, quia aestatem nudi exigunt. Baleares a teli missu appellati, aut a Balio [5] Herculis comite ibi relicto, cum Hercules ad Geryonen navigaret. Motus quoque Syriae referuntur, in quibus Cleopatra Demetrium virum suum et Seleucum filium, indignata, quod occiso patre eius a se iniussu suo diadema sumpsisset, interemit.

[1] senis et *Weissenborn*: sexis et NPII: sesis cn Vossianus: semis et Norvicensis R.
[2] tulerat G: fuerat *vetera*.
[3] equite Gudianus: equitem *vetera*.
[4] quos . . . Gymnesios *Jahn*: quas . . . Gymnesias MSS.
[5] Balio *edd.*: blato NPII, Balteo Norvicensis R.

[1] 123–2 B.C. Plutarch, *Gaius Gracchus* v. says that Gaius planned to add an equal number (three hundred) to the senate. The price of grain, 6 *asses* per peck (*modius*), was intended to be a reasonable cost price, cf. Polybius II. 15. 1, and *Cambridge Ancient History* IX, pp. 58 f. The African colony was to be founded near, not at, ancient Carthage, on a site appropriate for agriculture.

[2] 122–1 B.C., cf. *C.I.L.* I², pp. 49 and 176. This seems to have been a formal taking over of the islands by Rome, on the ground that some inhabitants were practising piracy. The first derivation of the name "Baleares" is from the Greek *ballein*, to hurl a missile, cf. Diodorus V. xvii, where a second story is told of Hercules.

[3] 125 B.C. According to Appian, *Syrian Wars* 69, Cleopatra feared that Seleucus might avenge his father; Justinus XXXIX. i. 9 agrees with Livy; but the reasons are not mutually exclusive.

B.C. 126–121 Gaius Gracchus, the brother of Tiberius and a better speaker than his brother, carried as tribune of the commons several ruinous laws, among which were: a law on the grain supply, that grain should be sold for six and one-third *asses* to the commons; a second law concerning land, such as his brother also had carried; and a third law, as a means of seducing the order of knights, which was at that time in harmony with the senate, to the effect that six hundred of the knights should be joined to the body of the senate and, since at that time there were only three hundred senators, that these three hundred senators should be amalgamated with six hundred knights, which meant that the order of knights would have a two-to-one majority in the senate. When Gracchus was continued as tribune for a second year, he passed land laws and brought about the foundation of several colonies in Italy and one on the site of destroyed Carthage; for the last, he himself was appointed to the Board of Three and founded the colony.[1]

In addition, the book contains an account of the campaign of Consul Quintus Metellus against the Baleares, whom the Greeks call Gymnesians, because they spend the summer unclothed. They are called Baleares because of hurling missiles, or else after Balius, a companion left behind there by Hercules when he sailed after Geryon.[2] An account is also given of the disturbances in Syria, during which Cleopatra put to death her husband Demetrius, and then her son Seleucus, because she resented his assuming the crown without her permission, after she had killed his father.[3]

A.U.C. 631–634

LXI. C. Sextius pro cos. victa Salluviorum gente coloniam Aquas Sextias condidit, ob aquarum copiam e caldis frigidisque fontibus atque a nomine suo ita appellatas. Cn. Domitius pro cos. adversus Allobrogas ad oppidum Vindalium feliciter pugnavit. Quibus bellum inferendi causa fuit, quod Toutomotulum Salluviorum regem fugientem recepissent et omni ope iuvissent, quodque Aeduorum agros, sociorum [1] populi Romani, vastassent. C. Gracchus seditioso tribunatu acto cum Aventinum quoque armata multitudine occupasset, a L. Opimio consule ex senatus consulto vocato ad arma populo pulsus et occisus est, et cum eo Fulvius Flaccus consularis,[2] socius eiusdem furoris. Q. Fabius Maximus consul, Pauli nepos, adversus Allobrogas et Bituitum Arvernorum regem feliciter pugnavit. Ex Bituiti exercitu occisa milia CXX; ipse cum ad satisfaciendum senatui Romam profectus esset, Albam custodiendus datus est, quia contra pacem videbatur ut in Galliam remitteretur. Decretum quoque est, ut Congonnetiacus filius eius comprehensus Romam mitteretur. Allobroges in deditionem accepti. L. Opimius accusatus apud populum a Q. Decio tribuno plebis, quod indemnatos cives in carcerem coniecisset, absolutus est.

[1] sociorum *add.* R: *om.* MSS.
[2] consularis *Sigonius*: cos. MSS.

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[1] 123–2 B.C. Sextius (Calvinus) was consul in 124. Cf. Strabo IV. 180; Velleius I. xv. 4; *C.I.L.* I², p. 53. Aix en Provence was a colony in Livy's day, but was not founded as such by Sextius.

[2] The battle took place in 121 B.C., but Domitius (Ahenobarbus) had been active in the campaign as consul of the preceding year. Cf. Appian, *Gallic Wars* 12, Florus I. xxxvii. 4.

[3] Livy's view of these events was evidently thoroughly senatorial; cf. Plutarch, *Gaius Gracchus* xiii–xviii.

[4] 121 B.C. Fabius joined Domitius as the Arverni, rivals of the Aedui for the hegemony of Gaul, came to the aid of the

B.C. 123–120

LXI. Proconsul Gaius Sextius conquered the Salluvian tribe and founded the colony of Aquae Sextiae, which was named after the abundance of waters from hot and cold springs, and after the name of the proconsul.[1] Proconsul Gnaeus Domitius fought successfully against the Allobroges before the town of Vindalium. The reason for waging war on them was that they received Toutomotulus the king of the Salluvii, when he had fled, and assisted him with all their power; also that they had devastated the land of the Aedui, allies of the Roman People.[2] Gaius Gracchus, after passing a riotous tribuneship, proceeded also to seize the Aventine with an armed mob, and was routed and killed by Lucius Opimius the consul, in accordance with a decree of the senate, after the people had been summoned to arms. Along with Gracchus was killed Fulvius Flaccus, an ex-consul, and his comrade in like madness.[3] Consul Quintus Fabius Maximus, grandson of Paulus, fought successfully against the Allobroges and Bituitus the king of the Arverni.[4] One hundred and twenty thousand of Bituitus' army were killed; after the king himself had set out for Rome to make his peace with the senate, he was placed in custody at Alba, because his return to Gaul seemed not to be in the interest of peace. It was also decreed that his son Congonnetiacus should be arrested and sent to Rome.[5] The surrender of the Allobroges was accepted. Lucius Opimius was accused before the people by Quintus Decius, tribune of the commons, on the ground that he had cast citizens into prison without a trial, but he was acquitted.[6]

Allobroges. Cf. *C.I.L.* I². 1, p. 53, where the king's name is given as Betultus. The battle fought by Domitius (above) may have followed this battle, cf. Strabo IV. 191.

[5] According to Valerius Maximus IX. vi. 3, Bituitus was captured by treachery. Congonnetiacus appears to have been released and put on the throne as an ally of Rome, if the Contoniatus of Diodorus XXXIV. 36 is the same man.

[6] 120 B.C. Decius' first name is given as Publius in Cicero, *de Oratore* II. 132, 134–5.

A.U.C. 636–639

LXII. Q. Marcius consul Stynos, gentem Alpinam, expugnavit. Micipsa Numidiae rex mortuus regnum tribus filiis reliquit, Adherbali Hiempsali Iugurthae, fratris filio, quem adoptaverat. L. Caecilius Metellus Dalmatas subegit. Iugurtha Hiempsalem fratrem petit bello, qui victus occiditur.[1] Adherbalem regno expulit. Is a senatu restitutus est. L. Caecilius Metellus Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus censores duos et triginta senatu moverunt. Praeterea motus Syriae regumque continet.

A.U.C. 640–643

LXIII. C. Porcius consul in Thracia male adversus Scordiscos pugnavit. Lustrum a censoribus conditum est: censa sunt civium capita $\overline{\text{CCCXCIIII}}$ CCCXXXVI. Aemilia, Licinia, Marcia, virgines Vestales, incesti damnatae sunt, idque incestum quem ad modum et commissum et deprehensum et vindicatum sit, refertur. Cimbri, gens vaga, populabundi in Illyricum venerunt: ab his Papirius Carbo consul cum exercitu fusus est. Livius Drusus

[1] occiditur *Jahn*: occidit MSS.

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[1] Marcius was consul in 118 B.C., and celebrated a triumph over this tribe, " the Ligurian Stoeni," *C.I.L.* I². 1, p. 53.

[2] 118 B.C. Jugurtha was adopted in 120 B.C.

[3] Metellus was consul in 119 B.C., and celebrated his triumph in 117 B.C., cf. *C.I.L.* I². 1, p. 53; he received the surname Delmaticus.

[4] Cf. Sallust, *Jugurtha* xi.–xiii.

[5] 115 B.C. The censors were Metellus Delmaticus and the Domitius of LXI, cf. Cicero, *in Verrem* II. I. 143. Cf. below LXIII.

[6] This probably refers to the attack by Antiochus IX Cyzicenus on his elder half-brother Antiochus VIII Grypus, who was on the throne of Syria, cf. Justinus XXXIX. ii. 7–10; Appian, *Syrian Wars* 69.

B.C. 118–115

LXII. Consul Quintus Marcius routed the Styni, an Alpine tribe.[1] Micipsa king of Numidia at his death left his kingdom to three sons, Adherbal, Hiempsal, and Jugurtha, his brother's son, whom he had adopted.[2] Lucius Caecilius Metellus subdued the Dalmatians.[3] Jugurtha assailed his brother Hiempsal in war; the latter was conquered and killed. Jugurtha drove Adherbal out of his kingdom. This prince was restored by the senate.[4] Lucius Caecilius Metellus and Gnaeus Domitius Ahenobarbus as censors removed thirty-two from the senate.[5] In addition, the book contains the disturbances in Syria and among the kings.[6]

B.C. 114–111

LXIII. Consul Gaius Porcius lost a battle against the Scordisci in Thrace.[7] The half-decade was formally closed by the censors; the number of citizens counted was three hundred and ninety-four thousand, three hundred and thirty-six.[8] Aemilia, Licinia, and Marcia, Vestal Virgins, were condemned for unchastity; an account is given of the manner in which this offence was committed, detected, and punished.[9] The Cimbri, a nomad tribe, came plundering into Illyricum; they routed Consul Papirius Carbo and his army.[10] Consul Livius Drusus

[7] 114 B.C. From Eutropius IV. xxiv. one would conclude that the battle was fought in Macedonia. The Scordisci pushed on to Delphi (Appian, *Illyrian Wars* 5) and to the Adriatic (Florus I. xxxix. 3 f.).

[8] For this censorship cf. above LXII.

[9] 114 B.C. Cf. Dio XXVI, fr. 87; Plutarch, *Roman Questions* 83 (284); Valerius Maximus III. vii. 9, VI. viii. 1; Orosius V. xv. 20–22; and below, Obsequens 37. The pontifices condemned Aemilia only in 115 B.C.; a special court was set up in the following year to secure the condemnation of the others.

[10] 113 B.C. The defeat of Carbo was near Noreia, cf. Strabo V. 214; Appian, *Gallic Wars* I. 13 speaks of Teutoni, but seems to refer to this occasion. Cf. also Plutarch, *Marius* xvi; Velleius II. xii; Tacitus, *Germania* 37.

consul adversus Scordiscos, gentem a Gallis oriundam, in Thracia feliciter pugnavit.

A.U.C. 642–645 LXIV. Adherbal bello petitus ab Iugurtha et in oppido Cirta obsessus contra denuntiationem senatus ab eo occisus est, et ob hoc bellum Iugurthae indictum, idque Calpurnius Bestia consul gerere iussus pacem cum Iugurtha iniussu populi et senatus fecit. Iugurtha fide publica evocatus ad indicandos auctores consiliorum suorum, quod multos pecunia in senatu corrupisse dicebatur, Romam venit; et propter caedem admissam in regulum quendam nomine Massivam, qui regnum eius populo Romano invisi adfectabat, cum [1] periclitaretur causam capitis dicere, clam profugit et cedens urbe fertur dixisse "o urbem venalem et cito perituram, si emptorem invenerit!" A. Postumius legatus infeliciter proelio adversus Iugurtham gesto pacem quoque adiecit ignominiosam, quam non esse servandam senatus censuit.

A.U.C. 645–647 LXV. Q. Caecilius Metellus consul duobus proeliis Iugurtham fudit totamque Numidiam vastavit. M. Iunius Silanus consul adversus Cimbros infeliciter pugnavit. Legatis Cimbrorum sedem et agros, in quibus consisterent, postulantibus senatus negavit. M. Minucius pro cos. adversus Thracas prospere pugnavit. L. Cassius

[1] adfectabat cum *Jahn*: adfectabat Romae interfectum cum MSS.

[1] Drusus was consul in 112 B.C. In 112–1, he held back the Scordisci, as Gaius Caecilius Metellus had in the year 113; but it remained for Minucius Rufus in 110–108 B.C. to beat the Scordisci back decisively, see below LXV, and their final defeat occurred in 88 B.C.

[2] 112 B.C. Cf. Sallust, *Jugurtha* xx.–xxviii.

[3] 111 B.C. Sallust, *Jugurtha* xxviii. 4–xxix. 7.

[4] Sallust, *Jugurtha* xxx.–xxxv.; for Jugurtha's comment, xxxv. 10; Appian, *Numidian Wars* 1.

[5] 109 B.C. Sallust, *Jugurtha* xxxvi.–xxxix. 3.

fought successfully in Thrace against the Scordisci, a people of Gallic descent.[1]

B.C. 112–109 LXIV. Adherbal was assailed in war by Jugurtha, besieged in the town of Cirta, and put to death, contrary to the proclamation of the senate. On this account, war was declared against Jugurtha,[2] and Consul Calpurnius Bestia was ordered to conduct it. He concluded with Jugurtha a treaty unauthorized by the people and the senate.[3] Jugurtha was summoned and came to Rome under safe-conduct to reveal the sponsors of his plots, because it was being said that he had corrupted by bribes a large number of senators. He proceeded to murder a certain prince, Massiva by name, who was laying claim to Jugurtha's kingdom because the latter was in bad odour with the Romans. On this account Jugurtha was in danger of standing trial for his life, and fled secretly. As he left the city he is said to have remarked, "O venal city! How soon it will perish if it find a purchaser!"[4] Aulus Postumius, a staff officer, lost a battle to Jugurtha and further perpetrated a disgraceful peace treaty, which the senate voted not to ratify.[5]

B.C. 109–107 LXV. Consul Quintus Caecilius Metellus routed Jugurtha in two battles and devastated all Numidia.[6] Consul Marcus Junius Silanus lost a battle to the Cimbri.[7] The senate refused the demand of envoys of the Cimbri for an abode and land on which to settle.[8] Proconsul Marcus Minucius fought successfully against the Thracians.[9] Consul Lucius Cassius and his army were slaughtered in

[6] 108 B.C. Cf. Sallust xl.–lxix; Plutarch, *Marius* viii; Appian, *Numidian Wars* 3.

[7] 109 B.C. Cf. Velleius II. xii, Vegetius III. 10.

[8] Cf. Florus I. xxxviii (III. 3), who seems to place the request before the battle.

[9] 109–8 B.C. Minucius was consul in the preceding year; the Scordisci were still the chief disturbers, cf. above LXIII, note 1.

A.U.C. 645–647 consul a Tigurinis Gallis, pago Helvetiorum, qui a civitate secesserant, in finibus Nitiobrogum [1] cum exercitu caesus est. Milites qui ex ea caede superaverant, obsidibus datis et dimidia rerum omnium parte, ut incolumes dimitterentur, cum hostibus pacti sunt.

A.U.C. 648–649 LXVI. Iugurtha pulsus a C. Mario Numidia, cum auxilio Bocchi Maurorum regis adiutus esset, caesis proelio Bocchi quoque copiis, nolente Boccho bellum infeliciter susceptum diutius sustinere vinctus [2] ab eo et Mario traditus est; in qua re praecipua opera L. Cornelii Syllae, quaestoris C. Marii, fuit.

A.U.C. 649–652 LXVII. M. Aurelius Scaurus, legatus consulis, a Cimbris fuso exercitu captus est; et cum in consilium ab his advocatus deterreret eos, ne Alpes transirent Italiam petituri, eo quod diceret Romanos vinci non posse, a Boiorige [3] feroci iuvene occisus est. Ab iisdem hostibus Cn. Manlius consul et Q. Servilius Caepio pro cos. victi proelio castris quoque binis exuti sunt, militum milia octoginta occisa, calonum et lixarum quadraginta secundum Antiatem apud Arausionem.[4] Caepionis, cuius temeritate clades accepta erat, damnati bona publicata sunt,

[1] Nitiobrogum *Mommsen*: Allobrogum MSS.
[2] sustinere vinctus GR: sustinere noluit vinctus *vetera*: sustinere voluit *Jahn*.
[3] a Boiorige *Freinsheim*: abolorege NP: a Bolo rege R.
[4] Antiatem apud Arausionem *Gronovius, Zangemeister*: aprausionem NPII.

[1] 107 B.C. Cf. Caesar, *Gallic War* I. vii. 12; Appian, *Gallic Wars* I. 3; Orosius V. xv. 23 ff. The division of the defeated party's goods recalls Hector's thought in *Iliad* XXII.

the territory of the Nitiobroges by the Tigurine Gauls, a canton of the Helvetians, who had withdrawn from that state. The soldiers who survived this slaughter arranged with the enemy to be released unharmed after giving up hostages and half of all their possessions.[1] B.C. 109–107

LXVI. Jugurtha was driven from Numidia by Gaius Marius. When Jugurtha received the assistance of Bocchus king of the Moors, Bocchus' forces were also slaughtered in battle, and Bocchus was unwilling longer to endure the war that he had so unfortunately undertaken. He therefore threw Jugurtha in chains and handed him over to Marius; in this operation the services of Lucius Cornelius Sulla, Marius' quaestor, were outstanding.[2] B.C. 106–105

LXVII. Marcus Aurelius Scaurus, a staff officer of the consul, was taken prisoner by the Cimbri when his army was routed; he was summoned before their council, and when he tried to discourage them from crossing the Alps to enter Italy, on the ground that the Romans could not be conquered, he was killed by Boiorix, a savage youth.[3] At Arausio these same enemies conquered in battle Gnaeus Manlius the consul and Quintus Servilius Caepio the proconsul, stripped them both of their camps, and killed eighty thousand soldiers and forty thousand servants and camp followers, according to Valerius Antias.[4] Caepio, through whose rashness the disaster had been incurred, was condemned and his property confiscated, for the first B.C. 105–102

[1] Cf. Sallust lxxx, lxxxvii–cxiii; Plutarch, *Marius* ix f.; Appian, *Numidian Wars* 4 f.
[2] 105 B.C. Boiorix may have been the chieftain of the Cimbri, cf. Plutarch, *Marius* xxv. Cf. Granius Licinianus, p. 11 Flemisch; Velleius II. xii. 2; Tacitus, *Germania* 37; Orosius V. xvi. 2 f.
[3] Cf. references in note 3; also Plutarch, *Marius* xix, *Lucullus* xxvii; Cicero, *pro Balbo* 28; Valerius Maximus IV. vii. 3; Dio XXVII fr. 91. 1–4.

A.U.C. 649-652 primi post regem Tarquinium, imperiumque ei abrogatum. In triumpho C. Marii ductus ante currum eius Iugurtha cum duobus filiis et in carcere necatus est. Marius triumphali veste in senatum venit, quod nemo ante eum fecerat; eique propter metum Cimbrici belli continuatus per complures annos est consulatus. Secundo et tertio absens consul creatus quartum consulatum dissimulanter captans consecutus est. Cn. Domitius pontifex maximus populi suffragio creatus est. Cimbri vastatis omnibus, quae inter Rhodanum et Pyrenaeum sunt, per saltum in Hispaniam transgressi ibique multa loca populati a Celtiberis fugati sunt, reversique in Galliam in Vellocassis se Teutonis [1] coniunxerunt.

A.U.C. 652-653 LXVIII. M. Antonius praetor in Ciliciam maritimos praedones [2] persecutus est. C. Marius consul summa vi oppugnata a Teutonis et Ambronibus castra defendit. Duobus deinde proeliis circa Aquas Sextias eosdem hostes delevit, in quibus caesa traduntur hostium ducenta milia, capta nonaginta. Marius absens quinto consul creatus est. Triumphum oblatum, donec et Cimbros vinceret, distulit.

[1] in Veliocassis se Teutonis *Mommsen*: inbellicosis et teutonis NP.

[2] praedones GR: praedones, id est piratas *vetera*.

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[1] 104–3 B.C. Cf. Cicero, *de Oratore* II. 124, 198–9; Orosius V. xvi. 1–7. The confiscation was one of several measures that were aimed at Caepio, though stated in general terms, because of his exaggerated aristocratic bias; this also caused the "rashness," or lack of co-operation, which produced the disaster.

[2] 104 B.C. Cf. Sallust, *Jugurtha* cxiv, Plutarch, *Marius* xii. One son of Jugurtha, Oxyntas, was used in 90 B.C. by a Samnite to impress the Numidians on the Roman side of the Social War, cf. Appian, *Civil Wars* I. 42.

time since King Tarquin, and he was cashiered.[1] In the triumph of Gaius Marius, Jugurtha with his two sons was led before the triumphal chariot and was killed in the gaol.[2] Marius entered the senate in his triumphal dress, which no one previously had done. Because of dread of the war against the Cimbri, Marius' consulship was renewed for several years. The second and third times he was away when elected, and he achieved a fourth consulship by a pretence of making no campaign for it.[3] Gnaeus Domitius was elected chief pontiff by vote of the people.[4] The Cimbri devastated all the land between the Rhone and the Pyrenees, crossed through a pass into Spain, and there after devastating many districts were routed by the Celtiberians. They returned to Gaul and in the land of the Vellocasses joined the Teutoni.[5] B.C. 105-102

LXVIII. Praetor Marcus Antonius pursued the sea brigands into Cilicia.[6] Consul Gaius Marius defended his camp against furious assaults by th. Teutoni and Ambrones. Thereafter in two battles near Aquae Sextiae he destroyed these same enemies; in these battles it is recorded that two hundred thousand enemies were killed and ninety thousand captured. Marius was elected in his absence consul for the fifth time.[7] He postponed the triumph offered him until he should conquer the Cimbri B.C. 102-101

[3] Marius' entry into the senate is mentioned in Plutarch, *Marius* xii. 5. On Marius' elections as consul, cf. Plutarch xiv.

[4] Apparently in 103 B.C. Domitius had introduced a law that the people should elect priests of the principal colleges from candidates nominated by these colleges. Cf. Valerius Maximus VI. v. 5; Cicero, *pro Deiotaro* 31.

[5] 103–2 B.C. See Obsequens 43; Plutarch, *Marius* xiv.

[6] 102 B.C., cf. Cicero, *de Oratore* I. 82; Plutarch, *Pompey* xxiv; below, Obsequens 44. Dynastic disturbances in Syria gave occasion both for the piratical activity, and for Roman interference so near the centre of Seleucid power; see below, end of this Summary.

[7] Cf. Plutarch, *Marius* xvi–xxii.

A.U.C. 652-653 Cimbri cum repulso ab Alpibus fugatoque Q. Catulo procos., qui fauces Alpium obsidebat et ad flumen Atesim castellum editum insederat cohorte reliqueratque,[1] quae tamen virtute sua explicata fugientem procos. exercitumque consecuta est, in Italiam traiecissent, iunctisque eiusdem Catuli et C. Marii exercitibus proelio victi sunt, in quo caesa traduntur hostium centum quadraginta milia, capta sexaginta. Marius totius civitatis consensu exceptus pro duobus triumphis, qui offerebantur, uno contentus fuit. Primores civitatis, qui ei[2] aliquamdiu ut novo homini ad tantos honores evecto inviderant, conservatam ab eo rem publicam fatebantur. Publicius Malleolus matre occisa primus in culleo insutus in mare praecipitatus est. Ancilia cum strepitu mota esse, antequam Cimbricum bellum consummaretur, refertur. Bella praeterea inter Syriae reges gesta continet.

A.U.C. 654 LXIX. L.[3] Apuleius Saturninus, adiuvante C. Mario et per milites occiso A. Nunnio competitore, tribunus plebis

[1] et ad flumen . . . cohorte reliqueratque *Rossbach*: flumen . . . relinqueret *ceteris omissis* MSS.
[2] ei *Jahn*: et MSS.
[3] L. *Sigonius*: Cn. NPII.

[1] Cf. Plutarch, *Marius* xxiv.
[2] The text is uncertain, probably due to omissions, see critical note; the present version is based on Plutarch, *Marius* xxiii.
[3] Cf. Plutarch, *Marius* xxv–xxvii.
[4] Cf. Plutarch, *Marius* xxvii. 6, xliv. 5; *C.I.L.* I². 1, pp. 177, 195.
[5] Cf. Cicero, *pro Rabirio Perduell.* 27; Juvenal viii. 250.
[6] That Malleolus was the first to incur this punishment seems to be a special assertion of Livy's, meaning presumably that this was the first clearly historical occasion. In Dionysius IV. 62 and Valerius Maximus I. i. 13, this punishment is said to have been used by Tarquin the Proud on the occasion of a serious crime against religion; it is more usually associated

also.[1] The latter drove back from the Alps and put to flight Proconsul Quintus Catulus, who was trying to block the Alpine passes, and who had left a lofty fort at the Atesis River which he had garrisoned with one cohort. This cohort, however, extricated itself by its own unaided gallantry and overtook the fleeing proconsul and his army.[2] The Cimbri had by this time crossed into Italy, and were beaten in battle by the combined forces of the above-mentioned Catulus and Gaius Marius. In this battle it is recorded that one hundred and forty thousand of the enemy were killed and sixty thousand were captured.[3] Marius was hailed with the unanimous applause of the whole state, but was satisfied with a single triumph instead of the two which were offered him at that time.[4] The leading men of the state, who had for some time held a grudge against him as a man without family background who had been elevated to posts of such importance, now admitted that the state had been preserved by him.[5] B.C. 102-101

Publicius Malleolus, who had killed his mother, was the first to be sewn into a sack and hurled into the sea.[6] The report is given that the sacred shields were shaken and rattled before the conclusion of the Cimbric War.[7] The book also includes the wars waged in the royal family of Syria.[8]

LXIX. Lucius Apuleius Saturninus, who had the support of Gaius Marius, and whose rival Aulus Nunnius was B.C. 100

with parricide, *e.g.*, Cicero, *pro Roscio Amerino* 70. In either case the intention was to cleanse the country of a portentous defilement. Cf. Orosius V. xvi. 23; Auctor ad Herennium I. 13.
[7] Cf. below, Obsequens 44a (101 B.C.).
[8] The dynastic struggle in Syria, cf. above LXII, page 75, note 6, continued, and was complicated by rivalry for the throne of Egypt, cf. Justinus XXXIX. iv. 4. Cf. also the first item of this Summary.
(For a brief fragment of the *Oxyrhynchus Summary*, see below, p. 172.)

A.U.C. 654 per vim creatus, non minus violenter tribunatum, quam petierat, gessit; et cum legem agrariam per vim tulisset, Metello Numidico, quod in eam non iuraverat, diem dixit. Qui cum a bonis civibus defenderetur, ne causa certaminum esset, in exilium voluntarium Rhodum profectus est, ibique audiendo et legendo magnos viros avocabatur. Profecto C. Marius, seditionis auctor, qui sextum consulatum pecunia per tribus sparsa emerat, aqua et igni interdixit. Idem Apuleius Saturninus tribunus plebis C. Memmium candidatum consulatus, quoniam adversarium eum [1] actionibus suis timebat, occidit. Quibus rebus concitato senatu, in cuius causam et C. Marius, homo varii et mutabilis ingenii consiliique semper secundum fortunam, transierat, oppressus armis cum Glaucia praetore et aliis eiusdem furoris sociis [2] bello quodam interfectus est. Q. Caecilius Metellus ab exilio ingenti totius civitatis favore reductus est. M'. Aquilius pro cos. in Sicilia bellum servile excitatum confecit.

[1] eum Jahn: eius NPΠ.
[2] sociis *add.* R: *om.* MSS.

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[1] Cf. Appian, *Civil Wars* I. 28, who mentions that Saturninus had been tribune before (in 103 B.C., cf. Cicero, *pro Sestio* 37); Plutarch, *Marius* xxix.

[2] The land law was for the benefit of Marius' veterans, cf. Plutarch xxix, Appian, *Civil Wars* I. 29–31; Saturninus also planned to make the veterans citizens in colonies, cf. Cicero, *pro Balbo* 48. The city populace rioted in opposition to this extension of their privileges, and Saturninus conducted counter-riots. A special clause requiring the senate to uphold the law was perhaps aimed at Metellus, whom both Marius and Saturninus hated. On Metellus' behaviour, cf. also Cicero, *ad Familiares* I. ix. 16; Seneca, *Epistles* xxiv. 4. (L.C.L.).

[3] On Marius' election, cf. Plutarch xxviii; Velleius II. xii. 6.

slain by the soldiers, was elected tribune of the commons B.C. 100 by violence.[1] He conducted his tribunate as lawlessly as his campaign; after passing a land law by violence, he indicted Metellus Numidicus because he had not sworn to uphold it. The better class of citizens rallied to Metellus' defence, but to avoid being a cause of strife, he went into voluntary exile at Rhodes, and there found distraction in hearing and reading distinguished philosophers.[2] After Metellus left, Gaius Marius, the man responsible for the civil strife, who had bought his sixth consulship by strewing money among the tribes, banned Metellus from fire and water.[3] The same Apuleius Saturninus, tribune of the commons, killed Gaius Memmius, a candidate for the consulship, because he feared him as an opponent of his proceedings.[4] The senate was aroused at these crimes; and Gaius Marius too, being a man of shifting and changeable nature, and one to shift his policy as chance directed, had come over to their side. Saturninus, along with Praetor Glaucia and other comrades in the same madness, was put down by military force and killed in a sort of war.[5] Quintus Caecilius Metellus was brought back from exile to the loud applause of the whole state.[6] Proconsul Manius Aquilius put an end to a slave war which had arisen in Sicily.[7]

[4] Memmius was anti-senatorial; Glaucia, named below as an associate of Saturninus, was a candidate for the consulship.

[5] Considering that Marius did not wish to be dominated by Saturninus and Glaucia, and that he may even have disapproved at this time of continued murdering of opponents as a political measure, the charge of shiftiness seems overdone; but Marius was not a shrewd or long-sighted political calculator. Cf. Plutarch, *Marius* xxx; Appian, *Civil Wars* I. 32 f.; Cicero, *pro Rabirio Perduell.* 28; Velleius II. xii. 6.

[6] Cf. Plutarch, *Marius* xxxi; Valerius Maximus IV. i. 13, V. ii. 7; Appian, *Civil Wars* I. 33.

[7] Aquilius had served under Marius and was consul with him in 101 B.C. The campaign against the slaves took some time; Aquilius killed their leader in a duel, but was severely wounded. Cf. Diodorus XXXVI. 10; Florus II. vii.

A.U.C. 655–663

LXX. Cum M'.[1] Aquilius de pecuniis repetundis causam diceret, ipse iudices rogare noluit; M. Antonius, qui pro eo perorabat, tunicam a pectore eius discidit, ut honestas cicatrices ostenderet. Indubitate absolutus est. Cicero eius rei solus auctor. T. Didius pro cos. adversus Celtiberos feliciter pugnavit. Ptolemaeus Cyrenarum rex, cui cognomen Apionis fuit, mortuus heredem populum Romanum reliquit, et eius regni civitates senatus liberas esse iussit. Ariobarzanes in regnum Cappadociae a L. Cornelio Sylla reductus est. Parthorum legati, a rege Arsace missi, venerunt ad Syllam, ut amicitiam populi Romani peterent. P. Rutilius, vir summae innocentiae, quoniam legatus C. Mucii pro cos. a publicanorum iniuriis Asiam defenderat, invisus equestri ordini, penes quem iudicia erant, repetundarum damnatus in exilium missus est. C. Sentius praetor adversus Thracas infeliciter pugnavit. Senatus cum impotentiam equestris ordinis in iudiciis exercendis ferre nollet, omni vi eniti coepit, ut ad se iudicia transferret, sustinente causam eius M. Livio Druso tribuno plebis, qui ut vires sibi adquireret, perniciosa spe largitionum[2] plebem concitavit. Praeterea motus Syriae regumque continet.

[1] M'. *Sigonius*: M. MSS.
[2] largitionum *Gruter*: largitionem MSS: largitionis R.

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[1] Aquilius was guilty, cf. Cicero, *pro Flacco* 98; on his acquittal, cf. *de Oratore* II. 124, 188, 194–6.
[2] 97 B.C. Didius was consul in 98 B.C. Cf. Obsequens 47 f.; Appian, *Spanish Wars* 99.
[3] Probably 96 B.C. Cf. Justinus XXXIX. 5; Tacitus, *Annals* XIV. 18.
[4] 92 B.C. Cf. Justinus XXXVIII. 3. 3; Plutarch, *Sulla* v; Appian, *Mithridatic Wars* x. 57. Ariobarzanes was pro-Roman, and was opposed by Tigranes of Armenia and Mithridates of Pontus.

B.C. 99–91

LXX. When Manius Aquilius was standing trial for extortion, he was unwilling to make an appeal to the jury, but Marcus Antonius, who was concluding his speech in defence of Aquilius, tore the shirt from his chest in order to display his honourable scars. Aquilius was acquitted with no hesitation. Cicero is the only writer who tells of this incident.[1] Proconsul Titus Didius fought successfully against the Celtiberians.[2] Ptolemy king of Cyrene, whose personal name was Apion, died and left the Roman People as his heir; accordingly the senate decreed that the cities of that kingdom should be independent.[3] Ariobarzanes was restored to the throne of Cappadocia by Lucius Cornelius Sulla.[4] Envoys of the Parthians, sent by king Arsaces, came to Sulla to seek the friendship of the Roman People.[5] Publius Rutilius, a man of unblemished conduct, was hated by the order of knights, because as deputy of Proconsul Gaius Mucius he had protected Asia against the injustice of the tax gatherers. Since the knights had control of the courts, Rutilius was condemned for extortion and sent into exile.[6] Praetor Gaius Sentius lost a battle to the Thracians.[7] The senate refused to endure the licence of the order of knights in managing the courts, and began to bend every effort to transfer control to the senate itself. The cause of the senate was supported by Marcus Livius Drusus, tribune of the commons, who stirred up the commons with the ruinous hope of gratuities in order to strengthen his position.[8] The book also includes disturbances in Syria and among the kings.[9]

[5] Sulla was at the border of Armenia, south of which were the Parthians. Cf. Velleius II. xxiv; Plutarch, *Sulla* v.
[6] 92 B.C. Cf. Velleius II. xiii. 2; Dio XXVIII. fr. 97; Orosius V. xvii. 12–3. Rutilius had served in Asia in 97 B.C. under Quintus (not Gaius) Mucius Scaevola.
[7] 92 B.C. Cf. Orosius V. xviii. 30; Sentius continued as governor of Macedonia, and his later victory is mentioned in Cicero: *in Pisonem* 84; *in Verrem* II. III. 217.
[8] 91 B.C. Cf. below, LXXI; Velleius II. xiii; Appian, *Civil Wars* I. 35. Drusus was a nephew of Rutilius.
[9] Cf. above, LXVIII.

A.U.C. 663

LXXI. M. Livius Drusus tribunus plebis, quo [1] maioribus viribus senatus causam susceptam tueretur, socios et Italicos populos spe civitatis Romanae sollicitavit; iisque adiuvantibus per vim legibus agrariis frumentariisque latis iudiciariam quoque pertulit, ut aequa parte iudicia penes senatum et equestrem ordinem essent. Cum deinde promissa sociis civitas praestari non posset, irati Italici defectionem agitare coeperunt. Eorum coetus [2] coniurationesque et orationes in consiliis principum referuntur. Propter quae Livius Drusus invisus etiam senatui factus velut socialis belli auctor, incertum a quo domi occisus est.

LXXII. Italici populi defecerunt Picentes, Vestini, Marsi, Paeligni, Marrucini, Samnites, Lucani. Initio belli a Picentibus moto Q. Servilius pro cos. in oppido Asculo [3] cum omnibus civibus Romanis, qui in eo oppido erant, occisus est. Saga populus sumpsit. Ser. Galba a Lucanis comprehensus, unius feminae opera, ad quam devertebatur, e [4] captivitate receptus est. Aesernia et Alba coloniae ab Italicis obsessae sunt. Auxilia deinde Latini nominis et [5] exterarum gentium missa populo Romano et expeditiones invicem expugnationesque urbium referuntur.

[1] quo *Jahn*: qui NPΠ.
[2] coetus *Duker*: coitus MSS.
[3] Asculo *add.* GR: *om. vet.*
[4] e *add. Jahn*: *om.* MSS.
[5] et *add. Rossbach*: *om.* MSS.

[1] 91 B.C. Cf. Diodorus XXXVII. x. 1–3, xi, xiii. 1 f.; Cicero, *de Oratore* III. i, ii. 1–5; Velleius II. xiii f.; *de viris illustribus* lxvi. 1 f.; Appian, *Civil Wars* I. v. 35 f., whose account is somewhat distorted to fit Appian's conception of the Social War as part of the civil wars.

LXXI. Marcus Livius Drusus, tribune of the commons had undertaken to support the cause of the senate; in order to bring greater resources to the maintenance of this task, he stirred up the allies and the peoples of Italy to hope for Roman citizenship. With the assistance of the Italians he carried by force laws on the distribution of land and grain, and also pushed through a law on the courts, to the effect that control of the courts should be equally shared by the senate and the order of knights. When after these events the promised grant of citizenship for the allies could not be effected, the Italians were enraged and began to promote a revolt. Their gatherings and conspiracies, and the speeches in conference of their leading men are reported in the book. These events made Livius Drusus detested even by the senate as being a promoter of rebellion among the allies; he was cut down in his own home by an unknown assassin.[1] B.C. 91

LXXII. The following Italian peoples rebelled: the Picentes, Vestini, Marsi, Paeligni, Marrucini, Samnites, and Lucanians.[2] The opening move of the war was made by the Picentes; in the town of Asculum, Proconsul Quintus Servilius and all the Roman citizens who were in the town were killed.[3] The Roman people donned military cloaks. Servius Galba was arrested by the Lucanians and was released from captivity by the action of a lone woman with whom he had been lodging. The colonies of Aesernia and Alba were besieged by the Italians. An account is given of the troops sent by the Latin Name and foreign nations to the relief of the Roman People; also recorded are campaigns and the storming of cities by both sides.

[2] 91 B.C. A coin gives a list mentioning also the Frentani and Hirpini and omitting the Lucanians, cf. *C.A.H.* IX, p. 185.
[3] Cf. Velleius II. xv, Diodorus XXXVII. xiii. 2, Appian, *Civil Wars* I. v. 38 f. Servilius, a praetor or propraetor acting *pro consule*, attempted to browbeat the Asculans, and so touched off the massacre.

A.U.C. 664 LXXIII. L. Iulius Caesar consul male adversus Samnites pugnavit. Nola colonia in potestatem Samnitium venit cum L. Postumio praetore, qui ab his interfectus est. Complures populi ad hostes defecerunt. Cum P. Rutilius consul parum prospere adversus Marsos pugnasset et in eo proelio cecidisset, C. Marius legatus eius meliore eventu cum hostibus acie conflixit. Ser. Sulpicius [1] Paelignos proelio fudit. Q. Caepio legatus Rutilii cum obsessus prospere in hostes inrupisset et ob eum successum aequatum ei cum C. Mario esset imperium, temerarius factus et circumventus insidiis fuso exercitu cecidit. L. Iulius Caesar consul feliciter adversus Samnites pugnavit. Ob eam victoriam Romae saga posita sunt. Et ut varia belli fortuna esset, Aesernia colonia cum M. Marcello in potestatem Samnitium venit. Sed et C. Marius proelio Marsos fudit, Hierio [2] Asinio praetore Marrucinorum occiso. C. Caecilius in Gallia Transalpina Salluvios rebellantes vicit.

A.U.C. 665 LXXIV. Cn. Pompeius Picentes proelio fudit et [3] obsedit; propter quam victoriam Romae praetextae et alia magistratuum insignia sumpta sunt. C. Marius cum

[1] Servius Sulpicius Moguntina : sex. sul NPR.
[2] Hierio *Rossbach* : hirno MSS : Herio *Gronovius*.
[3] fudit et obsedit GR : fudit obsedit *vet.*, *Rossbach* : fudit . . obsedit *Jahn*.

[1] 90 B.C. Caesar was attempting to relieve Aesernia, cf. above, LXXII.
[2] Cf. Appian, *Civil Wars* I. v. 42. Nola was not a colony. The Samnites held it till 80 B.C., cf. Velleius II. xvii. 1, Plutarch, *Sulla* viii.
[3] The battle was fought east of Rome, cf. Ovid, *Fasti* VI. 563–6, which gives the date of June 11, and may have been part of an attempt to relieve Alba Fucens (above, LXXII). Marius was in the neighbourhood and retrieved the situation by prompt action, cf. Appian, *Civil Wars* I. v. 43, Orosius V. xviii. 13.

LXXIII. Consul Lucius Julius Caesar lost a battle to the Samnites.[1] The colony of Nola came into the hands of the Samnites, along with Praetor Lucius Postumius, who was put to death by them.[2] Numerous peoples deserted to the enemy. After Consul Publius Rutilius had fought unsuccessfully against the Marsi and had fallen in that battle, his deputy Gaius Marius was more successful in a battle against the enemy.[3] Servius Sulpicius routed the Paeligni in battle.[4] Quintus Caepio, a deputy of Rutilius, was besieged and made a successful sally against the enemy; because of this success his authority was made equal to that of Gaius Marius. Caepio thereupon grew reckless, was lured into an ambush, and fell in the rout of his army.[5] Consul Lucius Julius Caesar fought successfully against the Samnites.[6] Because of this victory, military cloaks were laid aside at Rome. That the fortunes of war might be fickle, the colony of Aesernia, along with Marcus Marcellus, fell into the hands of the Samnites.[7] For the Romans again, Gaius Marius routed the Marsi in a battle, after Hierius Asinius the general of the Marrucini had been slain.[8] Gaius Caecilius subdued a rebellion of the Salluvii in Transalpine Gaul.[9] B.C. 90

LXXIV. Gnaeus Pompeius routed the Picentes in battle and besieged them. Because of this victory, purple-bordered togas and the other distinctions of the magistrates were donned at Rome.[10] Gaius Marius fought B.C. 89

[4] Perhaps the Servius Galba of LXXII.
[5] Cf. Appian, *Civil Wars* I. v. 44; *C.I.L.* I². 708. Caepio and Marius were recognized as in command, jointly, of the northern theatre of operations after the death of Rutilius.
[6] Cf. Appian, *Civil Wars* I. v. 42.
[7] Cf. Appian, *Civil Wars* I. v. 41.
[8] The name of the Italian commander is often given as Herius, cf. Appian, *Civil Wars* I. v. 40, Velleius II. xvi. 1.
[9] The praetor's name may have been Caelius, cf. *RE.* III. 1188 and 1255; Broughton, *Magistrates* II. 25.
[10] 89 B.C. Pompeius, as consul, commanded on the northern front, near which he seems to have owned property.

A.U.C. 665 Marsis dubio eventu pugnavit. Libertini tunc primum militare coeperunt. A.[1] Plotius legatus Umbros, L. Porcius praetor Etruscos,[2] cum uterque populus defecisset, proelio vicerunt. Nicomedes in Bithyniae, Ariobarzanes in Cappadociae regnum reducti sunt. Cn. Pompeius consul Marsos acie vicit. Cum aere alieno oppressa esset civitas, A. Sempronius Asellio praetor, quoniam secundum debitores ius dicebat, ab his, qui faenerabant, in foro occisus est. Praeterea incursiones Thracum in Macedoniam populationesque continet.

LXXV. A. Postumius Albinus legatus cum classi praeesset, infamis crimine perduellionis[3] ab exercitu suo interfectus est. L. Cornelius Sylla legatus Samnites proelio vicit et bina castra eorum expugnavit. Cn. Pompeius Vestinos in deditionem accepit. L. Porcius consul rebus prospere gestis fusisque aliquotiens Marsis, dum castra eorum expugnat, cecidit. Ea res hostibus victoriam eius proelii dedit. Cosconius et Lucanus Samnites acie vicerunt, Marium Egnatium, nobilissimum hostium ducem, occiderunt compluraque eorum oppida in deditionem acceperunt. L. Sylla Hirpinos domuit, Samnites pluribus proeliis fudit, aliquot populos recepit,

[1] A. *edd.*: Aurelius NPΠR.
[2] Etruscos *Duker*: umbros *vet.*: marsos GR.
[3] perduellionis *Rossbach*: perditiones N, per deditionis P.

[1] Cf. Appian, *Civil Wars* I. vi. 49; the freedmen garrisoned the coast of Latium.
[2] Cf. Orosius V. xviii. 17.
[3] Cf. Appian, *Mithridatic Wars* ii. 11.
[4] Cf. Appian, *Civil Wars* I. vi. 52.
[5] Cf. Valerius Maximus IX. vii. 4; Appian, *Civil Wars* I. vi. 54.
[6] Cf. below, LXXVI and LXXXI.
[7] 89 B.C. Cf. Plutarch, *Sulla* vi. 9. Postumius' real offence was cruelty to his own men, who were spared punishment by Sulla.

indecisively with the Marsi. At this time, freedmen first began to serve in the army.[1] Aulus Plotius, a deputy, defeated the Umbrians in battle, and Praetor Lucius Porcius overcame the Etruscans, since both peoples had revolted.[2] Nicomedes was brought back to the throne of Bithynia, and Ariobarzanes to that of Cappadocia.[3] Consul Gnaeus Pompeius won a battle against the Marsi.[4] B.C. 89

The state was labouring under the burden of debts; Praetor Aulus Sempronius Asellio was slain in the forum by usurers because he was deciding cases in favour of debtors.[5] The book also includes raids and ravaging in Macedonia by the Thracians.[6]

LXXV. Aulus Postumius Albinus commanded the fleet as deputy; being discredited by charges of treason, he was put to death by his own troops.[7] Lucius Cornelius Sulla as deputy conquered the Samnites in battle and stormed two camps of theirs. Gnaeus Pompeius received the surrender of the Vestini.[8] After successful campaigning, and having on several occasions routed the Marsi, Consul Lucius Porcius fell while storming a Marsian camp. This misfortune gave the enemy the victory in that battle.[9] Cosconius and Lucanus conquered the Samnites in battle, killed Marius Egnatius, the most conspicuous leader of the enemy, and received the surrender of a large number of Samnite cities.[10] Lucius Sulla overcame the Hirpini and routed the Samnites in several battles; he received the

[8] See below, LXXVI.
[9] This occurred early in the year.
[10] Appian, *Civil Wars* I. vi. 52 gives an account of Cosconius' successes in Apulia which cannot quite be adjusted to Livy's. The name of the other commander is sometimes conjectured to be Lucanius (a member of Pompeius Strabo's staff in this year had that name), or Lucceius (so R and Gronovius). For Marius Egnatius' successes in the previous year, cf. Appian, *Civil Wars* I. v. 41 and vi. 45.

A.U.C. 665 quantisque raro quisquam alius ante consulatum rebus gestis ad petitionem consulatus Romam est profectus.

LXXVI. A. Gabinius legatus rebus adversus Lucanos prospere gestis et plurimis oppidis expugnatis in obsidione hostium castrorum cecidit. Sulpicius legatus Marrucinos cecidit, totamque eam regionem recepit. Cn. Pompeius pro cos. Vestinos et Paelignos in deditionem accepit. Marsi quoque a L. Cinna [1] et Caecilio Pio [2] legatis aliquot proeliis fracti petere pacem coeperunt. Asculum a Cn. Pompeio captum est. Caesis et a Mamerco Aemilio legato Italicis Silo Poppaedius dux Marsorum, auctor eius rei, in proelio cecidit. Ariobarzanes Cappadociae, Nicomedes Bithyniae regno a Mithridate Ponti rege pulsi sunt. Praeterea incursiones Thracum in Macedoniam populationesque continet.

A.U.C. 666 LXXVII. Cum P. Sulpicius tribunus plebis auctore C. Mario perniciosas leges promulgasset, ut exules revocarentur et novi cives libertinique in tribus [3] distribuerentur et ut C. Marius adversus Mithridatem Ponti regem

[1] Cinna *Jahn*: pinna *vet.*: murena GR.
[2] Pio *Sigonius*: pinna NPIIR.
[3] in tribus *add.* R, *edd.*: *om.* MSS: in XXXV tribus *Halm.*

[1] Sulla began his campaign on the coast below Naples, moved north-east against the Hirpini, a faction of whom provided a legion among his forces, and then north-west into Samnium, cf. Appian, *Civil Wars* I. vi. 50 f.
[2] 89 B.C. Cf. LXXV; Sulpicius was either Servius Sulpicius Galba, cf. LXXIII or Publius Sulpicius Rufus, cf. LXXVII; Orosius V. xviii. 25 also gives the *nomen* only.
[3] The exact course of events described here, and above, is not made clear, but cf. Appian, *Civil Wars* I. vi. 48. No

surrender of several peoples; and after achieving successes of a magnitude seldom equalled by anyone else before becoming consul, set out for Rome to seek the consulship.[1] B.C. 89

LXXVI. The deputy Aulus Gabinius achieved successes against the Lucanians and stormed a very large number of cities; he fell while besieging a camp of the enemy. The deputy Sulpicius crushed the Marrucini, and recovered that whole region. Gnaeus Pompeius as proconsul received the surrender of the Vestini and Paeligni.[2] The Marsi also were broken by the deputies Lucius Cinna and Caecilius Pius in several battles and began to ask for peace. Asculum was taken by Gnaeus Pompeius.[3] When the Italians suffered a further defeat at the hands of the deputy Aemilius Mamercus, Poppaedius Silo, the commander of the Marsi and ringleader of the revolt, fell in the battle.[4] Ariobarzanes of Cappadocia and Nicomedes of Bithynia were driven from their kingdoms by Mithridates king of Pontus.[5] The book also includes raids and plundering by the Thracians in Macedonia.[6]

LXXVII. Publius Sulpicius, tribune of the commons, instigated by Gaius Marius, proposed ruinous laws—that the exiles should be recalled, that new citizens and freedmen should be distributed among the tribes, and that Gaius Marius should be appointed commander to oppose B.C. 88

notice is taken, at least in the Summary, of the offer of Roman citizenship which conceded much to the rebels, until it appears as the first item of Summary LXXX, long after it took effect.
[4] Silo retired to Samnium after his Marsians were knocked out of the war, and scored some success before this close of his career.
[5] Nicomedes was replaced by his younger brother, Socrates; Mithridates' son took the throne of Cappadocia. Cf. Appian, *Mithridatic Wars* ii. 10.
[6] Cf. below, LXXXI.

A.U.C. 666 dux crearetur, et adversantibus consulibus Q. Pompeio et L. Syllae vim intulisset, occiso Q. Pompeio [1] Q. Pompei consulis filio, genero Syllae, L. Sylla consul cum exercitu in urbem venit et adversus factionem Sulpicii et Marii in ipsa urbe pugnavit, eamque expulit. Ex qua duodecim a senatu hostes, inter quos C. Marius pater et filius, iudicati sunt. P. Sulpicius cum in quadam villa lateret, indicio servi sui retractus et occisus est. Servus, ut praemium promissum indici [2] haberet, manumissus et ob scelus proditi domini de saxo deiectus est. C. Marius filius in Africam traiecit. C. Marius pater cum in paludibus Minturnensium lateret, extractus est ab oppidanis; et cum missus ad occidendum eum servus natione Gallus maiestate tanti viri perterritus recessisset, impositus publice navi delatus est in Africam. L. Sylla civitatis statum ordinavit, exinde colonias deduxit. Q. Pompeius consul, ad accipiendum a Cn. Pompeio procos. exercitum profectus, consilio eius occisus est. Mithridates, Ponti rex, Bithynia et Cappadocia occupatis et pulso Aquilio legato Phrygiam, provinciam populi Romani, cum ingenti exercitu intravit.

[1] Q. Pompeio *add. Sigonius, Hertz*: occisoque pompei NPR, occisoque pompeio Gu.
[2] promissum indici *Gronovius*: promissi indicii NPIIR.

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[1] 88 B.C. The first measure was obvious; the second was Sulpicius' real and much-needed contribution to the settlement of the Social War; the third was presumably the political price for support of the second by an anti-senatorial group of considerable influence.
[2] The greater violence was on the side of the consuls; but Livy, like our other authorities, *e.g.*, Plutarch, *Sulla* viii, and Appian, *Civil Wars* I. vii. 55 f., quotes the senatorial tradition. Cf. frs. 15 and 16.
[3] Cf. Valerius Maximus III. viii. 5; Velleius II. xix. 1.

Mithridates King of Pontus.[1] When the consuls Quintus B.C. 88
Pompeius and Lucius Sulla opposed him, Sulpicius met them with violence, and Quintus Pompeius, son of Consul Quintus Pompeius and son-in-law of Sulla, was killed, whereupon Consul Lucius Sulla entered the city with an army and, battling the party of Sulpicius and Marius in the city itself, drove them out.[2] Of this party twelve, including Gaius Marius senior and junior, were adjudged public enemies by the senate.[3] While Publius Sulpicius was hiding in a certain country-house, he was dragged out and killed on information given by his own slave. The slave was given his freedom, in order to pay him the reward promised to an informer, and was thrown from the Tarpeian Rock because of his crime in betraying his master.[4] Gaius Marius junior crossed over to Africa. The elder Marius hid in the swamps belonging to Minturnae, but was dragged out by citizens of that town. A slave of Gallic nationality was sent to kill him, but withdrew appalled by the dignity of so great a man. Marius was put aboard a ship by the town and carried to Africa.[5]

Lucius Sulla established order in the state, and thereafter sent out colonies.[6] Consul Quintus Pompeius set out to take over the army of Proconsul Gnaeus Pompeius, and was murdered at the instigation of the latter.[7] Mithridates King of Pontus seized Bithynia and Cappadocia and routed the deputy Aquilius; he then entered Phrygia, a province of the Roman people, with a large army.[8]

[4] Cf. Velleius II. xix. 1; Valerius Maximus VI. v. 7; Plutarch, *Sulla* x. 2, Appian, *Civil Wars* I. vii. 57–60.
[5] Cf. Plutarch, *Marius* xxxv. 5–xl; Velleius II. xix. 2–4; Appian, *Civil Wars* I. vii. 60–62; Valerius Maximus II. x. 6; Juvenal x. 276–82. The common people showed their devotion to Marius, and were presumably responsible for the change of official attitude.
[6] Cf. Appian, *Civil Wars* I. vii. 59.
[7] Cf. Appian, *Civil Wars* I. vii. 63.
[8] Cf. Appian, *Mithridatic Wars* iii. 17–20.

A.U.C. 666 LXXVIII. Mithridates Asiam occupavit; Q. Oppium procos., item Aquilium legatum in vincula coniecit, iussuque eius, quidquid civium Romanorum in Asia fuit, uno die trucidatum est. Urbem Rhodum, quae sola in fide populi R.[1] manserat, oppugnavit et aliquot proeliis navalibus victus recessit. Archelaus praefectus regis in Graeciam cum exercitu venit, Athenas occupavit. Praeterea trepidationem urbium insularumque, aliis ad Mithridatem aliis ad populum Romanum civitates suas trahentibus, continet.

A.U.C. 667 LXXIX. L. Cornelius Cinna consul cum perniciosas leges per vim atque arma ferret, pulsus urbe a Cn. Octavio collega cum sex tribunis plebis imperioque ei abrogato corruptum Appii Claudii exercitum in potestatem suam redegit et bellum urbi intulit, arcessito C. Mario ex Africa cum aliis exulibus. In quo bello duo fratres, alter ex Pompei exercitu alter ex Cinnae, ignorantes concurrerunt, et cum victor spoliaret occisum, agnito fratre ingenti lamentatione edita, rogo ei extructo, ipse se supra rogum transfodit et eodem igne consumptus est. Et cum opprimi inter initia potuisset, Cn. Pompeii fraude, qui utramque partem fovendo vires Cinnae dedit nec nisi profligatis optimatium rebus auxilium tulit, et consulis segnitia confirmati Cinna et Marius quattuor exercitibus,

[1] fide populi Romani *edd.*: fidem pr. NII.

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[1] 88 B.C. Cf. Appian, *Mithridatic Wars* iv. f. 22–9; Plutarch, *Sulla* xi; Dio, XXX–XXXV, fr. 101.

[2] 87 B.C. Cf. Appian, *Civil Wars* I. viii. 64 f. The issue was the admission of the new (Italian) citizens to all tribes. The counterviolence of Octavius' followers was extreme, cf. Cicero, *in Catilinam* III. x. 24, *pro Sestio* xxxv. 77.

LXXVIII. Mithridates seized Asia; he cast into chains Quintus Oppius the proconsul, and also Aquilius the deputy; by Mithridates' order, every Roman citizen in Asia was slaughtered on a single day. He assailed the city of Rhodes, which alone remained loyal to the Roman People, but retired after being beaten in several naval battles. Archelaus the King's officer came into Greece with an army and seized Athens. The book also includes the turmoil in the cities and islands, as some tried to draw their states to the side of Mithridates, others to that of Rome.[1] B.C. 88

LXXIX. When Consul Lucius Cornelius Cinna was passing ruinous laws by violence and force of arms, he along with six tribunes of the commons, was driven from the city by his colleague Gnaeus Octavius.[2] After Cinna was deprived of his authority, he brought the army of Appius Claudius under his control by bribery and made war on the city of Rome, after summoning Gaius Marius, along with the other exiles, from Africa.[3] In this campaign two brothers, one of Pompeius' army, the other from that of Cinna, came unwittingly to blows; when the winner was stripping his slain rival, he recognized his brother, broke into loud laments, and when he had built his brother's pyre, he stabbed himself on it and was consumed in the flames with his victim. B.C. 87

Although the struggle could have been crushed at its outset, Cinna and Marius were strengthened not only by the treachery of Gnaeus Pompeius, who lent strength to Cinna by cultivating both sides, and did not come to the aid of the better sort till their situation was desperate,[4] but also by the inertia of the consul. The rebels besieged Rome with four armies, two of which were entrusted to

[3] Claudius' status as commander (propraetor) was in some doubt, cf. Cicero, *de Domo Sua* xxxi. 83, and the position of Cinna as consul carried some weight.

[4] Pompeius was not a man of principle, and had been snubbed by the aristocracy; cf. above, LXXVII.

A.U.C. 667 ex quibus duo Q. Sertorio et Carboni dati sunt, urbem circumsederunt. Ostiam coloniam Marius [1] expugnavit et crudeliter diripuit.

LXXX. Italicis populis a senatu civitas data est. Samnites, qui soli arma recipiebant, Cinnae et Mario se coniunxerunt. Ab his Plautius legatus cum exercitu caesus est. Cinna et Marius cum Carbone et Sertorio Ianiculum oppugnaverunt et fugati ab Octavio consule recesserunt. Marius Antium et Ariciam et Lanuvium colonias expugnavit. Cum spes nulla esset optimatibus resistendi propter segnitiam et perfidiam et ducum et militum, qui corrupti aut pugnare nolebant aut in diversas partes transiebant, Cinna et Marius in urbem recepti sunt; qui velut captam eam caedibus ac rapinis vastaverunt, Cn. Octavio consule occiso et omnibus adversae partis nobilibus trucidatis, inter quos M. Antonio eloquentissimo viro, C. Lque [2] Caesare, quorum capita in rostris posita sunt. Crassus filius ab equitibus Fimbriae occisus. Pater Crassus, ne quid indignum virtute sua pateretur, gladio se transfixit. Et citra ulla comitia consules in sequentem annum se ipsos renuntiaverunt; eodemque die, quo magistratum inierant, Marius S. Licinium senatorem

[1] Marius *add. edd.*: *om.* MSS.
[2] Lque *Hertz*: L MSS.: Caesaribus *Gronovius.*

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[1] Cf. Appian, *Civil Wars* I. viii. 66 f.; Plutarch, *Marius* xli f.

[2] 87 B.C. A belated mention of this important step, first taken in 89 B.C.

[3] Metellus Pius, responsible for containing the Samnite rebels, had been recalled with part of his force, to defend Rome against Cinna, cf. Plutarch, *Marius* xlii. 3; Appian, *Civil Wars* I. viii. 68.

[4] The death of Pompeius, the most experienced soldier, is not mentioned (cf. Appian, *Civil Wars* I. viii. 68; Velleius II. xxi. 4); the other commanders were better as civilians than as leaders of a forlorn hope; and the soldiers may have been understandably unenthusiastic about dying in a last-ditch stand for the privileges of their betters.

[5] The elder Crassus had been active in the preceding fighting; for his death, cf. Cicero, *pro Sestio* xxi. 48, *de Oratore* III. iii. 10, *Tusculan Disputations* V. xix. 55; and possibly *pro Scauro* iii. 1. 2.

[6] Velleius II. xxiv. 2 calls him "Lucilius, who had been tribune of the commons the preceding year," and makes Laenas, a tribune, responsible for his death, cf. also Plutarch, *Marius* xlv. 1 ("Sextus Lucinus").

Quintus Sertorius and Carbo. Marius stormed the colony of Ostia and cruelly sacked it.[1] B.C. 87.

LXXX. The citizenship was granted by the senate to the peoples of Italy.[2] The Samnites, who alone took up arms again, joined Cinna and Marius. The deputy Plautius and his army were beaten by these Samnites.[3] Cinna and Marius, along with Carbo and Sertorius, attacked the Janiculum, were routed by the consul Octavius, and retired. Marius stormed the colonies of Antium, Aricia, and Lanuvium. When no hope of holding out remained to the better sort, because of the inertia and treachery both of the commanders and of the soldiers,[4] who because of bribery either refused to fight or deserted to the opposite side, Cinna and Marius were received in the city, and proceeded to ravage it with slaughter and plundering as if they had captured it. Consul Gnaeus Octavius was killed, and all the outstanding men of the opposing party were slaughtered, among them Marcus Antonius, a most eloquent man, and Gaius and Lucius Caesar; their heads were placed on the Rostra. The younger Crassus was killed by the cavalry of Fimbria. The elder Crassus stabbed himself with his sword, to avoid suffering a fate unworthy of his valour.[5]

Without the slightest formality of election, Cinna and Marius announced themselves as consuls for the following year. On the very day on which they entered on their magistracy, Marius ordered Sextus Licinius, a senator,[6]

A.U.C. 667 de saxo deici iussit editisque plurimis sceleribus idibus Ianuariis decessit, vir, cuius si examinentur cum virtutibus vitia, haud facile sit dictu, utrum bello melior an pace perniciosior fuerit. Adeo quam rem publicam armatus servavit, eam primo togatus omni genere fraudis, postremo armis hostiliter evertit.

LXXXI. L. Sylla Athenas, quas Archelaus praefectus Mithridatis occupaverat, circumsedente et cum magno labore expugnante [1] urbi libertatem et quae habuerat reddidit. Magnesia, quae sola in Asia civitas in fide manserat, summa virtute adversus Mithridaten defensa est. Praeterea excursiones Thracum in Macedoniam continet.

A.U.C 668 LXXXII. Sylla copias regis, quae Macedonia occupata in Thessaliam venerant, proelio vicit, caesis hostium centum milibus et castris quoque expugnatis. Renovato deinde bello iterum exercitum regis fudit ac delevit. Archelaus cum classe regia Syllae se tradidit. L. Valerius Flaccus consul, collega Cinnae, missus, ut Syllae succederet, propter avaritiam invisus exercitui suo a C. Fimbria legato ipsius, ultimae audaciae homine, occisus est, et imperium ad Fimbriam translatum. Praeterea expugnatae in Asia urbes a Mithridate et crudeliter direpta provincia, incursiones Thracum in Macedoniam referuntur.

[1] expugnante Gu.: expugnare *vet.*: expugnavit GR: expugnaret *Jahn.*

[1] Livy's fairness mixes here with the senatorial bias of his sources.

[2] 87–6 B.C. The Summary does not mention the pillage and slaughter immediately following the Roman entrance, cf. Plutarch, *Sulla* xiv., Appian, *Mithridatic Wars* vi. 38 f.

[3] 87 B.C. Cf. Appian, *Mithridatic Wars* ix. 61.

[4] These raids were presumably directed by Mithridates, through his son Ariarathes, who was trying to establish himself in Thrace; the earlier raids mentioned in LXXIV and LXXVI may have been instigated by Mithridates.

to be cast from the Tarpeian Rock; and after committing innumerable crimes, Marius died on the thirteenth of January, a man about whom it would be hard to say, if his vices and virtues are scrutinized together, whether the excellence of his services in war outweighed the damage he did in peace, or the reverse. So true is it that as a soldier he saved the state, and as a civilian first confounded that same state with all manner of trickery, and in the end made devastating war on it.[1] B.C. 87

LXXXI. Lucius Sulla besieged Athens, which had been seized by Archelaus, Mithridates' officer; when after severe exertions Sulla captured the town, he left it its autonomy and its property.[2] Magnesia, the only city in Asia which had remained loyal, was defended against Mithridates with the utmost valour.[3] The book also contains raids by the Thracians into Macedonia.[4]

LXXXII. Sulla defeated in battle the King's troops which had seized Macedonia and entered Thessaly; one hundred thousand of the enemy were killed and their camp was stormed also. When the war flared up again after that, Sulla again routed and destroyed the King's army. Archelaus surrendered himself and the King's fleet to Sulla.[5] Consul Lucius Valerius Flaccus, the colleague of Cinna, was sent to replace Sulla; being hated by his army because of his greed, Flaccus was killed by his own staff officer Gaius Fimbria, a man of utmost recklessness, and the command transferred to Fimbria.[6] The story is also told of the storming of cities in Asia by Mithridates, the cruel plundering of that province,[7] and raids of the Thracians into Macedonia. B.C. 86

[5] 86 B.C. Cf. Plutarch, *Sulla* xv–xxiii; Appian, *Mithridatic Wars* 41–45, 49 f.

[6] Cf. Appian, *Mithridatic Wars* viii. 51 f.; Dio XXX–XXXV, fr. 104.

[7] Cf. Appian, *Mithridatic Wars* xii. 46–48.

A.U.C. 669–670 LXXXIII. Flavius Fimbria in Asia fusis proelio aliquot praefectis Mithridatis urbem Pergamum cepit, obsessumque regem non multum afuit, quin caperet. Urbem Ilium, quae se potestati Syllae reservabat, expugnavit ac delevit et magnam partem Asiae recepit. Sylla compluribus proeliis Thracas cecidit. Cum L. Cinna et Cn. Papirius Carbo a se ipsis consules per biennium creati bellum contra Syllam praeparent, effectum est per L. Valerium Flaccum principem senatus, qui orationem in senatu habuit, et per eos qui concordiae studebant, ut legati ad Syllam de pace mitterentur. Cinna ab exercitu suo, quem invitum cogebat naves conscendere et adversus Syllam proficisci, interfectus est. Consulatum Carbo solus gessit. Sylla cum in Asiam traiecisset, pacem cum Mithridate fecit ita, ut his cederet provinciis: Asia, Bithynia, Cappadocia. Fimbria desertus ab exercitu, qui ad Syllam transierat, ipse se percussit impetravitque de servo suo, praebens cervicem, ut se occideret.

A.U.C. 670 LXXXIV. Sylla legatis, qui a senatu missi erant, futurum se in potestate senatus respondit, si cives, qui pulsi a Cinna ad se confugerant, restituerentur. Quae condicio cum iusta senatui videretur, per Carbonem factionemque eius, cui bellum videbatur utilius, ne conveniret effectum est. Idem Carbo cum ab omnibus Italiae oppidis coloniisque obsides exigere vellet, ut fidem eorum contra Syllam obligaret, consensu senatus prohibitus est. Novis civibus senatus consulto suffragium datum

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[1] 85 B.C. Cf. Appian, *Mithridatic Wars* viii. 53; below, fr. 17, Obsequens 56b.

[2] 84 B.C. Cf. Appian, *Civil Wars* I. ix. 76–8.

[3] Cf. Plutarch, *Sulla* xxiv; Appian, *Mithridatic Wars* viii. 54–8.

LXXXIII. Flavius Fimbria routed in battle several officers of Mithridates in Asia, captured the city of Pergamum, and narrowly failed to capture the King in the course of the siege. Fimbria stormed and destroyed the city of Ilium, which was waiting to hand itself over to Sulla, and recovered a large part of Asia.[1] Sulla cut the Thracians to pieces in numerous battles. When Lucius Cinna and Gnaeus Papirius Carbo, self-appointed as consuls for two years, were preparing a campaign against Sulla, Lucius Valerius Flaccus, the chief of the senate, made a speech in the senate and with the help of those who were pressing for harmony brought it about that envoys were sent to Sulla to discuss peace. Cinna was put to death by his army, which he was trying to force against its will to embark and set out against Sulla. Carbo held the consulship without colleague.[2] When Sulla crossed over to Asia, he made peace with Mithridates on condition that the latter evacuate the following provinces; Asia, Bithynia, and Cappadocia.[3] Fimbria was abandoned by his army, which deserted to Sulla; he stabbed himself, offered his neck to his slave, and persuaded the latter to kill him.[4] B.C. 85–84

LXXXIV. Sulla replied to the envoys who had been sent by the senate that he would submit to the authority of the senate, if the citizens who had taken refuge with him after being driven out by Cinna were reinstated. Although this stipulation seemed fair to the senate, agreement was prevented by Carbo and his party, who thought that war was more to their interest. The same Carbo wished to demand hostages from all the towns and colonies of Italy, in order to secure their loyalty against Sulla, but he was prevented by the united sentiment of the senate.[5] The right to vote was given by decree of the senate to the new B.C. 84

[4] Cf. Plutarch, *Sulla* xxv; Appian, *Mithridatic Wars* ix. 59 f.; Velleius II. xxiv. 1.

[5] 84 B.C. Cf. Appian, *Civil Wars* I. ix. 77.

A.U.C. 670 est. Q. Metellus Pius, qui partes optimatium secutus erat, cum in Africa bellum moliretur, a C. Fabio praetore pulsus est, senatusque consultum per factionem Carbonis et Marianarum partium factum est, ut omnes ubique exercitus dimitterentur. Libertini in quinque et triginta tribus distributi sunt. Praeterea belli apparatum, quod contra Syllam excitabatur, continet.

A.U.C. 671 LXXXV. Sylla in Italiam cum exercitu traiecit missisque legatis, qui de pace agerent, et ab consule C.[1] Norbano violatis eundem Norbanum proelio vicit. Et cum L. Scipionis, alterius consulis, cum quo per omnia id egerat, ut pacem iungeret,[2] nec potuerat, castra oppugnaturus esset, universus exercitus consulis sollicitatus per emissos a Sylla milites signa ad Syllam transtulit. Scipio cum occidi posset, dimissus est. Cn. Pompeius, Cn. Pompei eius, qui Asculum ceperat, filius,[3] conscripto voluntariorum exercitu cum tribus legionibus ad Syllam venerat, ad quem se nobilitas omnis conferebat, ita ut deserta urbe ad castra veniretur. Praeterea expeditiones per totam Italiam utriusque partis ducum referuntur.

A.U.C. 671–672 LXXXVI. Cum C. Marius C. Marii filius consu ante annos XX per vim creatus esset, C. Fabius in Africa propter crudelitatem et avaritiam suam in praetorio suo

[1] C. *Sigonius*: cn. MSS.
[2] ut pacem iungeret *edd.*: pacem iungere MSS.
[3] filius *Rossbach*: scriptus NPII: privatus *Gronovius*.

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[1] A formal ratification of preceding promises, unless Livy meant some extension of the franchise, or an increase in its practical importance through opening more tribes to the new citizens.
[2] Cf. Plutarch, *Crassus* vi. 2.
[3] 83 B.C. Cf. Velleius II. xxv. 2, 4; Appian, *Civil Wars* I. x. 84 misstates the location.

citizens.[1] Quintus Metellus Pius, who had taken the side of the better sort, began to stir up war in Africa, but was defeated by Praetor Gaius Fabius;[2] a decree of the senate that all armies everywhere should be disbanded was passed by the party of Carbo and the followers of Marius. Freedmen were distributed among the thirty-five tribes. The book also contains the preparations for the campaign which was being drummed up against Sulla. B.C. 84

LXXXV. Sulla crossed to Italy with his army; he sent envoys to discuss peace, and when they were mistreated by Consul Gaius Norbanus, Sulla conquered this same Norbanus in battle.[3] When Sulla was about to attack the camp of the other consul, Lucius Scipio, with whom he had made every effort to come to terms without success, the entire army of the consul, on being invited by soldiers sent by Sulla, carried their standards over to Sulla. Although Scipio might have been executed, he was released.[4] Gnaeus Pompeius, son of the Gnaeus Pompeius who had taken Asculum, enrolled a volunteer army and came to Sulla with three legions.[5] All the leading men made their way to Sulla, so that the pilgrimage to his camp left Rome deserted. In addition, an account is given of the marching and counter-marching of the commanders of both factions all over Italy. B.C. 83

LXXXVI. Gaius Marius, son of Gaius Marius, was made consul by violence before he was twenty.[6] In Africa Gaius Fabius was burned alive in his headquarters because B.C. 83–82

[4] Cf. Appian, *Civil Wars* I. x. 85; Velleius II. xxv. 2; Plutarch, *Sulla* xxviii. 1–3.
[5] Cf. Appian, *Civil Wars* I. ix. 80; Plutarch, *Pompey* v.–viii.; Velleius II. xxix.
[6] 82 B.C. Marius' age is given as twenty-seven by Appian, *Civil Wars* I. x. 87, and as twenty-six by Velleius II. xxvi. 1. The "violence" seems to be actually unconstitutionality, because he had not held the praetorship.

A.U.C. 71-672 vivus exustus est. L. Philippus legatus Syllae Sardiniam Q. Antonio praetore pulso et occiso occupavit. Sylla cum Italicis populis, ne timeretur ab his velut erepturus civitatem [1] et suffragii ius nuper datum, foedus percussit. Itemque ex fiducia iam certae victoriae litigatores, a quibus adibatur, vadimonia Romam deferre iussit, cum a parte diversa urbs adhuc teneretur. L. Damasippus [2] praetor ex voluntate C. Marii consulis cum senatum contraxisset, omnem, quae in urbe erat, nobilitatem trucidavit. Ex cuius numero Q. Mucius Scaevola pontifex maximus fugiens in vestibulo aedis Vestae occisus est. Praeterea bellum a L. Murena adversus Mithridaten in Asia renovatum continet.

A.U.C. 672 LXXXVII. Sylla C. Marium, exercitu eius fuso deletoque ad Sacriportum, in oppido Praeneste obsedit, urbem Romam ex inimicorum manibus recepit. Marium erumpere temptantem reppulit. Praeterea res a legatis eius eadem ubique fortuna partium gestas [3] continet.

LXXXVIII. Sylla Carbonem, eius [4] exercitu ad Clusium ad Faventiam Fidentiamque caeso, Italia expulit; cum Samnitibus, qui soli ex Italicis populis nondum arma posuerant, iuxta urbem Romanam ante portam Collinam debellavit, reciperataque re publica pulcherrimam victoriam crudelitate, quanta in nullo hominum fuit, in-

[1] civitatem *edd.*: civitates NPΠ.
[2] Damasippus *Frobenius*: damasicius *vet.*: damascius NR.
[3] fortuna partium gestas *edd.*: fortunam partium gesta MSS.
[4] eius Lovelianus 2: eum Π, cum NP.

[1] 83 B.C. Cf. Cicero, *in Verrem* II. I. xxvii. 70; Valerius Maximus IX. x. 2. His *cognomen* was Hadrianus.
[2] 82 B.C. Philippus had been censor in 86 B.C., during the Marian regime.
[3] Cf. Appian, *Civil Wars* I. x. 88; Velleius II. xxvi. 2 f.

of his cruelty and greed.[1] Lucius Philippus, a staff officer of Sulla, seized Sardinia after the defeat and death of Praetor Quintus Antonius.[2] Sulla came to terms with the peoples of Italy, to preclude his being regarded as a threat to their recently gained status as citizens with the right to vote. Again, out of confidence in the victory which was now assured, he ordered men who brought suits before him to deposit their bonds at Rome, although the city was still in the possession of the other party. Praetor Lucius Damasippus assembled the senate by decision of Consul Gaius Marius, and butchered all of the leading men who were in Rome. Among these, Quintus Mucius Scaevola, the chief pontiff, was cut down as he fled in the entry to the temple of Vesta.[3] The book also includes the renewal by Lucius Murena of war in Asia against Mithridates.[4] B.C. 83-82

LXXXVII. Sulla routed and destroyed the army of Gaius Marius at Sacriportus, besieged Marius in the town of Praeneste, and recovered the city of Rome from the hands of his enemies. When Marius attempted to break out, Sulla drove him back.[5] The book also includes the operations of Sulla's deputies, conducted everywhere with the same outcome to the respective sides. B.C. 82

LXXXVIII. Sulla routed Carbo's army near Clusium, near Faventia and near Fidentia and drove Carbo out of Italy;[6] he fought to a finish under the walls of Rome before the Colline Gate with the Samnites, who alone of the Italian peoples had not yet laid down their arms.[7] After Sulla had restored the state, he befouled a most glorious victory by cruelty greater than any other man had

[4] 83–2 B.C. Cf. Appian, *Mithridatic Wars* ix. 64.
[5] 82 B.C. Cf. Appian, *Civil Wars* I. x. 89 f.
[6] Cf. Appian, *Civil Wars* I. x. 89 and 92; Velleius II. xxviii. 1.
[7] Cf. Appian, *Civil Wars* I. x. 93; Velleius II. xxvii. 1–3; Plutarch, *Sulla* xxix.

A.U.C. 672 quinavit. Octo milia dediticiorum in villa publica trucidavit; tabulam proscriptionis posuit, urbem ac totam Italiam caedibus replevit, inter quas omnes Praenestinos inermes concidi iussit, Marium, senatorii ordinis virum, cruribus bracchiisque fractis, auribus praesectis et oculis effossis necavit. C. Marius Praeneste obsessus a Lucretio Ofella,[1] Syllanarum partium viro, cum per cuniculum captaret evadere saeptum exercitu, mortem conscivit. Id est, in ipso cuniculo, cum sentiret se evadere non posse, cum Telesino, fugae comite, stricto utrimque gladio concurrit; quem cum occidisset, ipse saucius impetravit a servo, ut se occideret.

A.U.C. 672–674 LXXXIX. M. Brutus a Cn. Papirio Carbone, Cossyra quam adpulerant,[2] missus nave piscatoria Lilybaeum, ut exploraret, an ibi iam Pompeius esset, et circumventus navibus, quas Pompeius miserat, in se mucrone verso ad transtrum navis obnixus corporis pondere incubuit. Cn. Pompeius in Siciliam cum imperio a senatu missus Cn. Carbonem, qui flens muliebriter mortem tulit, captum occidit. Sylla dictator factus, quod nemo umquam fecerat, cum fascibus viginti quattuor processit. Legibus[3] novis rei publicae statum confirmavit, tribunorum plebis potestatem minuit et omne ius legum ferendarum ademit. Pontificum augurumque collegium ampliavit, ut essent quindecim; senatum ex equestri ordine supplevit; pro-

[1] Ofella *Sigonius*: afella NPIIR.
[2] Cossyra quam adpulerant *Rossbach*: quem corcyram adpulerant *vet.*: qui Corcyram adpulerat GR.
[3] Legibus *Gronovius*: rebus MSS.

[1] On Sulla's cruelty, cf. Plutarch, *Sulla* xxx–xxxii; Appian, *Civil Wars* I. x. 95; Velleius II. xxviii. The Marius of this section was Marcus Marius Gratidianus.
[2] Cf. Plutarch, *Sulla* xxxii.; Appian, *Civil Wars* I. x. 94; Velleius II. xxvii. 4–6.
[3] For Brutus' previous career as a Marian, cf. Appian, *Civil Wars* I. vii. 60; Plutarch, *Sulla* ix. 2.

ever displayed. He butchered eight thousand men, who had surrendered, in the Civic Villa; he set up a proscription list; and filled the city and all Italy with slaughter. Among other enormities he ordered all the Praenestines, who were disarmed, to be cut down, and put Marius, a man of senatorial rank, to death after breaking his legs and arms, cutting off his ears, and gouging out his eyes.[1] When Gaius Marius was besieged in Praeneste by Lucretius Ofella, a man of Sulla's party, he tried to escape by a tunnel which was blocked by the hostile army, and determined on death. That is, in the very tunnel, when he realized that he could not escape, he and Telesinus, his companion in flight, both drew their swords and dashed at each other; Marius killed Telesinus and, being himself wounded, persuaded his slave to kill him.[2] B.C. 82

(For a fragment of the *Oxyrhynchus Summary*, see below, p. 172.)

B.C. 82–80 LXXXIX. Marcus Brutus was sent by Gnaeus Papirius Carbo in a fishing-vessel from Cossyra, to which they had put in, to Lilybaeum to see whether Pompey was already there. When cut off by the ships which Pompey had sent, Brutus turned his point against himself and, bracing his sword on a thwart of the vessel, fell with all his weight upon it.[3] Gnaeus Pompeius was sent to Sicily as a military commander by the senate; he captured and put to death Gnaeus Carbo, who met his death weeping like a woman.[4] Sulla was made dictator, and appeared in public with twenty-four *fasces*—an unprecedented action. He strengthened the constitution by new legislation, diminished the power of the tribunes of the commons, and took from them entirely the power of introducing legislation. He added to the colleges of pontiffs and augurs, to make them fifteen in number; he recruited the senate from the order of knights; he deprived the sons of the

[4] Cf. Appian, *Civil Wars* I. xi. 96; Plutarch, *Pompey* x. 3 f.

A.U.C. 672–674 scriptorum liberis ius petendorum honorum eripuit et bona eorum vendidit, ex quibus plurima priva [1] rapuit. Redactum est sestertium ter milies quingenties. Q. Lucretium Ofellam [2] adversus voluntatem suam consulatum petere ausum iussit occidi in foro; et cum hoc indigne ferret populus Romanus, contione advocata se iussisse dixit. Cn. Pompeius in Africa Cn. Domitium proscriptum et Hiertam, regem Numidiae, bellum molientes victos occidit et quattuor et viginti annos natus, adhuc eques Romanus, quod nulli contigerat, ex Africa triumphavit. C. Norbanus consularis proscriptus in urbe Rhodo cum comprehenderetur, ipse se occidit. Mutilus, unus ex proscriptis, clam capite adoperto ad posticias aedes Bastiae uxoris cum accessisset, admissus non est, quia illum proscriptum diceret; itaque ipse se transfodit et sanguine suo fores uxoris respersit. Sylla Aeserniam in Samnio recepit. XLVII legiones in agros captos deduxit et eos his divisit. Volaterras, quod oppidum adhuc in armis erat, obsessum in deditionem accepit. Mitylenae quoque in Asia, quae sola urbs post victum Mithridaten arma retinebat, expugnatae dirutaeque sunt.

A.U.C. 675–677 XC. Sylla decessit, honosque ei a senatu habitus est, ut in campo Martio sepeliretur. M. Lepidus cum acta Syllae temptaret rescindere, bellum excitavit. A Q.

[1] priva *Rossbach*: prima MSS.
[2] Q. Lucretium Ofellam *Sigonius*: quingentisque lucretium afellam NPII.

[1] 81–80 B.C. Cf. Appian, *Civil Wars* I. xi. 98–100; Plutarch, *Sulla* xxxiii.
[2] 82 B.C. Cf. Appian, *Civil Wars* I. xi. 101.
[3] 80 B.C. Cf. Plutarch, *Pompey* xi–xiv, who calls the Numidian King Iarbas.
[4] Cf. Appian, *Civil Wars* I. x. 91.

proscribed of the right to stand for office, and auctioned off their property, a very large amount of which he pocketed for his own use. The proceeds were three hundred and fifty million sesterces.[1] Quintus Lucretius Ofella dared to seek the consulship against Sulla's wishes; Sulla ordered him to be cut down in the Forum; and when the Roman People took this amiss, Sulla called a public meeting and announced that he had ordered the deed.[2] Gnaeus Pompeius conquered and killed in Africa Gnaeus Domitius, one of the proscribed, and Hierta, King of Numidia, who were stirring up a war. At the age of twenty-four, while still a Roman Knight, Pompey celebrated a triumph for his African campaign—an unprecedented honour.[3] When the ex-consul Gaius Norbanus, a proscribed man, was arrested in the city of Rhodes, he killed himself.[4] Mutilus, one of the proscribed, came secretly with muffled head to the rear door of the house belonging to his wife, Bastia; he was not admitted, his wife saying that he was proscribed; and so he stabbed himself and besprinkled his wife's doorway with his blood.[5] Sulla recovered Aesernia in Samnium. He took forty-seven legions to captured territory, and divided it among them. He besieged Volaterrae, a town which was still up in arms, and received its surrender.[6] Also, in Asia Mytilene, the only city which remained in arms after the defeat of Mithridates, was stormed and destroyed.[7] B.C. 82–80

XC. Sulla died, and the honour of being buried in the Campus Martius was decreed to him by the senate.[8] When Marcus Lepidus tried to repeal the measures of Sulla, he awakened a war. He was driven from Italy by his col- B.C. 79–77

[5] Cf. Granius Licinianus, p. 32 F; Papius Mutilus was a Samnite leader, commander at Nola until it fell at this time, 80 B.C.
[6] Cf. Granius Licinianus, p. 32 Flemisch.
[7] 80 B.C. Cf. Suetonius, *Julius* ii.
[8] Cf. Appian, *Civil Wars* I. xii. 105 f.; Plutarch, *Sulla* xxxvii f.

A.U.C. 675–677 Catulo collega Italia pulsus et in Sardinia frustra bellum molitus perit. M. Brutus, qui Cisalpinam Galliam obtinebat, a Cn.Pompeio occisus est. Q. Sertorius proscriptus in ulteriore Hispania ingens bellum excitavit. L. Manlius proconsul et M. Domitius legatus ab Hirtuleio quaestore proelio victi sunt. Praeterea res a P. Servilio procos. adversus Cilicas gestas continet.

A.U.C. 677–679 XCI. Cn. Pompeius cum adhuc eques Romanus [1] esset, cum imperio consulari adversus Sertorium missus est. Sertorius aliquot urbes expugnavit plurimasque civitates in potestatem suam redegit. Appius Claudius procos. Thracas pluribus proeliis vicit. Q. Metellus pro cos. L. Hirtuleium quaestorem Sertorii cum exercitu cecidit.

A.U.C. 679 XCII. Cn. Pompeius dubio eventu cum Sertorio pugnavit, ita ut singula ex utraque parte cornua vicerint. Q. Metellus Sertorium et Perpernam cum duobus exercitibus proelio fudit; cuius victoriae partem cupiens ferre Pompeius parum prospere pugnavit. Obsessus deinde Cluniae Sertorius adsiduis eruptionibus non leviora damna obsidentibus intulit. Praeterea res ab Curione [2] procos. in Thracia gestas adversus Dardanos et Q. Sertorii

[1] eques Romanus *Sigonius*: aequester *vet.*: eques Gu: Questor Leidensis, R.

[2] ab Curione *Gronovius*: ap. cursone NP: ab curisone Π: a P. Cursore Leidensis, R.

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[1] 78–7 B.C. Cf. Appian, *Civil Wars* I. xiii. 107; Plutarch, *Pompey* xvi.

[2] Cf. Plutarch, *Pompey* xvi; Appian, *Civil Wars* II. xvi. 111.

[3] 79–8 B.C. Cf. Plutarch, *Sertorius* xii. 3 f. Eutropius VI. 1, Orosius V. xxiii. 3 f. Domitius was governor of Nearer Spain in 79; Manlius was governor of Transalpine Gaul in 78, and had entered Spain to help against Sertorius.

[4] Servilius had been consul in 79. Cf. Sallust, *History* II, fr. 87.

league Quintus Catulus and met his end in Sardinia while vainly engineering a campaign.[1] Marcus Brutus, who was in possession of Cisalpine Gaul, was slain by Gnaeus Pompeius.[2] Quintus Sertorius, a proscribed man, raised a great war in Farther Spain. Lucius Manlius, a proconsul, and Marcus Domitius, a deputy, were defeated in battle by Quaestor Hirtuleius.[3] The book also includes the successes achieved by Proconsul Publius Servilius against the Cilicians.[4] B.C. 79–77

XCI. Although Gnaeus Pompeius was as yet a Roman knight, he was sent against Sertorius with consular authority. Sertorius stormed several cities and brought a very large number of communities under his control.[5] Proconsul Appius Claudius conquered the Thracians in a number of battles.[6] Proconsul Quintus Metellus routed Lucius Hirtuleius, Sertorius' quaestor, and his army.[7] B.C. 77–75

XCII. Gnaeus Pompeius fought indecisively with Sertorius; the fact was that one wing of each side was victorious. Quintus Metellus routed in battle Sertorius and Perperna and their two armies; Pompey wanted to share in this victory, but fought with slight success. Later, Sertorius was blockaded in Clunia but by repeated sallies inflicted on the besiegers as much damage as he received.[8] The book also includes the achievements of Proconsul Curio in Thrace against the Dardanians,[9] and the many acts of cruelty committed by Quintus B.C. 75

[5] 77–6 B.C. Cf. fr. 18, Appian, *Civil Wars* I. xiii. 108; Plutarch, *Pompey* xvii.

[6] 77–6 B.C. Cf. Florus I. xxxix. 6; Eutropius VI. ii. 2; Orosius V. xxiii. 19.

[7] 75 B.C. Cf. Orosius V. xxiii. 10 and 12; Frontinus II. vii. 5.

[8] 75 B.C. Cf. Plutarch, *Sertorius* xix; *Pompey* xix; Appian, *Civil Wars* I. xiii. 110.

[9] Cf. Sallust, *History* II. 80; Eutropius VI. ii. 2; Orosius V. xxiii. 20; below, XCV.

A.U.C. 679 multa crudelia in suos facta continet; qui plurimos ex amicis et secum proscriptis crimine proditionis insimulatos ccoidit.

A.U.C. 679–680 XCIII. P. Servilius procos. in Cilicia Isauros domuit et aliquot urbes piratarum expugnavit. Nicomedes Bithyniae rex populum Romanum fecit heredem, regnumque eius in provinciae formam redactum est. Mithridates foedere cum Sertorio icto bellum populo Romano intulit. Apparatus dein regiarum copiarum pedestrium navaliumque; et occupata Bithynia M. Aurelius Cotta consul ad Calchedona proelio a rege victus; resque a Pompeio et Metello adversus Sertorium . . . omnibus belli militiaeque artibus par fuit, . . . et ab obsidione Calagurris oppidi depulsos coegerit diversas regiones petere, Metellum ulteriorem Hispaniam, Pompeium Galliam.

A.U.C. 680–681 XCIV. L. Licinius Lucullus consul adversus Mithridaten equestribus proeliis feliciter pugnavit et aliquot expeditiones prosperas fecit poscentesque pugnam milites a seditione inhibuit. Deiotarus Gallograeciae tetrarches praefectos Mithridatis bellum in Phrygia moventes cecidit. Praeterea res a Cn. Pompeio in Hispania contra Sertorium prospere gestas continet.

A.U.C. 681 XCV. C. Curio procos. Dardanos in Thracia domuit. Quattuor et septuaginta gladiatores Capuae ex ludo Lentuli profugerunt et congregata servitiorum ergastu-

[1] Cf. Appian, *Civil Wars* I. xiii. 109, 112; *contra*, Plutarch, *Sertorius* xviii. 6.

[2] Cf. above, XC; Eutropius VI. iii; Orosius V. xxiii. 21; Cicero, *in Verrem* II. III. xc. 210 f.

[3] 75 or 74 B.C. Cf. Appian, *Mithridatic Wars* x. 71; *Civil Wars* I. xiii. 111.

[4] 74 B.C. Cf. Appian, *Mithridatic Wars* x. 71; Plutarch, *Sertorius* xxiii f. The alliance with Sertorius may have been an earlier preliminary, cf. *C.A.H.* IX, p. 322.

Sertorius upon his men; for he killed very many of his friends and fellow victims of the proscription on trumped-up charges of treachery.[1] B.C. 75

XCIII. Proconsul Publius Servilius overcame the Isaurians in Cilicia and stormed several cities of the pirates.[2] Nicomedes King of Bithynia made the Roman People his heir, and his kingdom was converted into a province.[3] Mithridates made a treaty with Sertorius and attacked the Roman People. The muster of the King's forces, infantry and naval; the seizure of Bithynia, and the defeat in battle near Chalcedon of Consul Marcus Aurelius Cotta by the King;[4] the achievements of Pompey and Metellus against Sertorius . . . he was a match for them in all the arts of war and campaigning . . . he drove them away from the siege of the city of Calagurris and compelled them to make off in different directions, Metellus to Farther Spain, Pompey to Gaul.[5] B.C. 75–74

XCIV. Consul Lucius Licinius Lucullus fought successful cavalry battles against Mithridates, made several victorious marches, and, when his soldiers demanded battle, restrained them from mutiny.[6] Deiotarus, Tetrarch of Galatia, crushed the officers of Mithridates when they stirred up war in Phrygia.[7] The book also includes the successful campaign of Gnaeus Pompeius in Spain against Sertorius.[8] B.C. 74–73

XCV. Proconsul Gaius Curio overcame the Dardanians in Thrace.[9] Seventy-four gladiators of the troupe of Lentulus escaped from Capua, collected a mob of slaves and prisoners from the workhouses, and began a war B.C. 73

[5] 74 B.C. Cf. Appian, *Civil Wars* I. xiii. 112; Plutarch, *Sertorius* xxi, *Pompey* xix f.

[6] Cf. Plutarch, *Lucullus* vii.

[7] 74 B.C. Cf. Appian, *Mithridatic Wars* xi. 75.

[8] 73 B.C. Cf. Appian, *Civil Wars* I. xiii. 113.

[9] Cf. above, XCII.

A.U.C. 681 lorumque multitudine, Crixo et Spartaco ducibus bello excitato, Claudium Pulchrum legatum et P. Varenum praetorem proelio vicerunt. L. Lucullus pro cos. ad Cyzicum urbem exercitum Mithridatis fame ferroque delevit; pulsumque Bithynia regem, variis belli ac naufragiorum casibus fractum, coegit in Pontum profugere.

A.U.C. 682 XCVI. Q. Arrius praetor Crixum fugitivorum ducem cum viginti milibus hominum cecidit. Cn. Lentulus consul male adversus Spartacum pugnavit. Ab eodem L. Gellius consul et Q. Arrius praetor acie victi sunt. Sertorius a M. Perperna et M'. Antonio et aliis coniuratis in convivio interfectus est, octavo ducatus sui anno, magnus dux et adversus duos imperatores, Pompeium et Metellum, vel frequentius victor, ad ultimum et saevus et prodigus. Imperium partium ad Marcum translatum, quem Cn. Pompeius victum captumque interfecit, ac recepit Hispanias decimo fere anno quam coeptum erat bellum. C. Cassius pro cos. et Cn. Manlius praetor male adversus Spartacum pugnaverunt, idque bellum M. Crasso praetori mandatum est.

A.U.C. 682–683 XCVII. M. Crassus praetor primum cum parte fugitivorum, quae ex Gallis Germanisque constabat, feliciter pugnavit, caesis hostium triginta quinque milibus et ducibus eorum Casto [1] et Gannico. Cum Spartaco dein

[1] Casto *Jahn*: caesis MSS: *om.* R.

[1] 73 B.C. Cf. Appian, *Civil Wars* I. xiii. 116; Plutarch, *Crassus* viii f.; Orosius V. xxiv. 1; Gaius Claudius Glaber was a praetor: Florus II. viii. 3–5.

[2] Cf. Appian, *Mithridatic Wars* xi. 73–6; Plutarch, *Lucullus* ix–xi.

under the leadership of Crixus and Spartacus. They defeated in battle the deputy Claudius Pulcher and Praetor Publius Varenus.[1] Proconsul Lucius Lucullus destroyed the army of Mithridates near the city of Cyzicus by starvation and sword; after driving from Bithynia the King, who was broken by various disasters of war and shipwreck, Lucullus compelled him to seek refuge in Pontus.[2] B.C. 73

XCVI. Praetor Quintus Arrius crushed Crixus, the leader of the runaways, together with twenty thousand men. Consul Gnaeus Lentulus lost a battle to Spartacus. The same leader defeated Consul Lucius Gellius and Praetor Quintus Arrius in battle.[3] Sertorius was killed at a banquet by Marcus Perperna, Manius Antonius, and other conspirators, in the eighth year of his leadership —a great leader, more often than not the victor over two generals, Pompey and Metellus, but towards the end savage and prodigal. The command over his faction was transferred to Marcus, whom Gnaeus Pompeius conquered, took prisoner, and put to death; Pompey recovered Spain in about the tenth year after the war was begun.[4] Proconsul Gaius Cassius and Praetor Gnaeus Manlius lost a battle to Spartacus, and this campaign was entrusted to Prætor Marcus Crassus.[5] B.C. 72

XCVII. Praetor Marcus Crassus first fought a winning battle with a portion of the runaway slaves, which was made up of Gauls and Germans, and killed thirty-five thousand of the enemy, as well as their leaders Castus and Gannicus. Then Crassus fought to a finish with Spartacus, B.C. 72–71

[3] 72 B.C. Cf. Plutarch, *Crassus* ix; Appian, *Civil Wars* I. xiv. 117. Strictly speaking, Arrius was propraetor, having been praetor the previous year.

[4] Cf. Plutarch, *Sertorius* xxv–xxvii, *Pompey* xx; Appian, *Civil Wars* I. xiii. 113–5.

[5] Cassius was proconsul of Cisalpine Gaul and was trying to block Spartacus' escape northward; cf. references in note 3.

A.U.C. 682–683 debellavit, caesis cum ipso sexaginta milibus. M. Antonius praetor bellum adversus Cretenses parum prospere susceptum morte sua finiit. M. Lucullus pro cos. Thracas subegit. L. Lucullus in Ponto adversus Mithridaten feliciter pugnavit, caesis hostium amplius quam sexaginta milibus. M. Crassus et Cn. Pompeius consules facti (s. c.[1] Pompeius, antequam quaesturam gereret, ex equite Romano) tribuniciam potestatem restituerunt. Iudicia quoque per M. Aurelium Cottam praetorem ad equites Romanos translata sunt. Mithridates desperatione rerum suarum coactus ad Tigranen Armeniae regem confugit.

A.U.C. 684–686 XCVIII. Machares filius Mithridatis, Bospori rex, a L. Lucullo in amicitiam receptus est. Cn. Lentulus et L. Gellius censores asperam censuram egerunt, quattuor et sexaginta senatu motis. A quibus lustro condito censa sunt civium capita DCCCC. L. Metellus praetor in Sicilia adversus piratas prospere rem gessit. Templum Iovis in Capitolio, quod incendio consumptum ac refectum

[1] s.c. *Rossbach* : sicut MSS.

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[1] 71 B.C. Cf. fr. 21; Plutarch, *Crassus* x f.; Appian, *Civil Wars* I. xiv. 118–20.

[2] Antonius held a special commission against the pirates, cf. Cicero, *in Verrem* II. III. xci–xciii, 213–6; Velleius II. xxxi. 3; Plutarch, *Antony* i.

[3] 72 B.C. Lucullus (Marcus Terentius Varro Lucullus) extended Roman rule as far as the lower Danube, cf. Eutropius VI. viii, x; Orosius VI. iii. 4; Ammianus Marcellinus XXVII. iv. 11.

[4] 72 B.C. Cf. Appian, *Mithridatic Wars* xii. 79–81; Plutarch, *Lucullus* xvii; *C.A.H.* IX, pp. 363 f.

[5] 71 B.C., for the year 70. Cf. Plutarch, *Pompey* xxii f., *Crassus* xii; Cicero, *in Verrem* I. xv. 44 f.

[6] Cf. Velleius II. xxxii. 3; his first name was actually Lucius, cf. Asconius, p. 15 Kiessling-Scholl = p. 17 Clark. The courts were composed, under Cotta's arrangement, of one-third senators, one-third knights, and one-third *tribuni*

who was killed along with sixty thousand men.[1] Praetor Marcus Antonius undertook a campaign against the Cretans with little success and closed it with his death.[2] Proconsul Marcus Lucullus subdued the Thracians.[3] Lucius Lucullus fought successfully against Mithridates in Pontus, and killed over sixty thousand of the enemy.[4] Marcus Crassus and Gnaeus Pompeius were elected consuls, Pompey in accordance with a decree of the senate while a Roman knight, before he had held the quaestorship. These consuls restored the power of the tribunes.[5] The juries were also transferred to the Roman knights by Praetor Marcus Aurelius Cotta.[6] Mithridates was compelled by his hopeless situation to take refuge with Tigranes King of Armenia.[7] B.C. 72–71

XCVIII. Machares, son of Mithridates and King of Bosporus, was given the status of friend by Lucius Lucullus.[8] Gnaeus Lentulus and Lucius Gellius the censors conducted a severe censorship, removing sixty-four from the senate. When they closed the half-decade, there were enumerated nine hundred thousand citizens.[9] Praetor Lucius Metellus conducted a successful campaign against pirates in Sicily.[10] The temple of Jupiter on the Capitol, which had been destroyed by fire and restored, B.C. 70–68

aerarii apparently equivalent to knights in position; all three groups were subject to review by the censors, or others, cf. *C.A.H.* IX, pp. 339 f.

[7] 72 B.C. Cf. Appian, *Mithridatic Wars* xii. 82; Plutarch, *Lucullus* xix.

[8] 70 B.C. Cf. Appian, *Mithridatic Wars* xii. 83; Plutarch, *Lucullus* xxiv. 1.

[9] The censorship was restored as part of the alteration of Sulla's constitution. Cf. Cicero, *pro Cluentio* xlii. 120; Plutarch, *Pompey* xxii. 5.

[10] Cf. Orosius VI. iii. 5. Metellus is frequently mentioned by Cicero in the Verrine Orations as the governor of Sicily who succeeded Verres and tried to restore good government, although he also worked to protect Verres from prosecution.

A.U.C. 684–686 erat, a Q. Catulo dedicatum est. L. Lucullus in Armenia Mithridaten et Tigranen et ingentes utriusque regis copias pluribus proeliis fudit. Q. Metellus procos. bello adversus Cretenses mandato Cydoniam urbem obsedit. C. Triarius legatus Luculli adversus Mithridaten parum prospere pugnavit. Lucullum, ne persequeretur Mithridaten ac Tigranen summamque victoriae imponeret, seditio militum tenuit, quia sequi nolebant. Id est duae [1] legiones Valerianae, quae impleta a se stipendia dicentes Lucullum reliquerunt.

A.U.C. 687 XCIX. Q. Metellus procos. Cnoson et Lyctum et Cydoniam et alias plurimas urbes expugnavit. L. Roscius tribunus plebis legem tulit, ut equitibus Romanis in theatro quattuordecim gradus proximi adsignarentur. Cn. Pompeius lege ad populum lata persequi piratas iussus, qui commercium annonae intercluserant, intra quadragesimum diem toto mari eos expulit; belloque cum his in Cilicia confecto, acceptis in deditionem piratis agros et urbes dedit. Praeterea res gestas a Q. Metello adversus Cretenses continet et epistulas Metelli et Cn. Pompeii invicem missas. Queritur Q. Metellus gloriam sibi rerum a se gestarum a Pompeio praeverti,[2] qui in Cretam miserit legatum suum ad accipiendas urbium deditiones. Pompeius rationem reddit hoc se facere debuisse.

[1] duae *Rossbach*: quae MSS.
[2] praeverti *Rossbach*: praeterii N: preteriri PIIR.

[1] The temple of Jupiter Capitolinus was burned in 83 B.C. Restoration was begun by Sulla, but Catulus as pontifex completed it, cf. Cicero, *in Verrem* II. IV. xxxi. 69; Valerius Maximus VI. ix. 5.

[2] 69 B.C. Cf. frs. 22, 23; Plutarch *Lucullus* xxiv f.; Appian, *Mithridatic Wars* xii. 84 f.

[3] Cf. Appian, *Sicily*, fr. vi. 2; Velleius II. xxxiv. 1.

[4] 68 B.C. Cf. Appian, *Mithridatic Wars* xiii. 88 f.; Plutarch, *Lucullus* xxx, xxxii–xxxv. Appian passes over the

was dedicated by Quintus Catulus.[1] Lucius Lucullus routed Mithridates and Tigranes and huge forces of both kings in several battles in Armenia.[2] Proconsul Quintus Metellus was given charge of the war against the Cretans and besieged the city of Cydonia.[3] Gaius Triarius, a staff officer of Lucullus, fought with slight success against Mithridates. A mutiny of the soldiers, who were unwilling to advance, kept Lucullus from pursuing Mithridates and Tigranes and putting the finishing touches to his victory. That is, two of Valerius' legions deserted Lucullus, saying that their term of service had expired.[4] B.C. 70–68

XCIX. Proconsul Quintus Metellus stormed Cnossus, Lyctus, Cydonia, and a large number of other cities.[5] Lucius Roscius, tribune of the commons, passed a law reserving the first fourteen rows in the theatre for Roman knights.[6] Gnaeus Pompeius was ordered by a law passed by the popular assembly to pursue the pirates, who had cut off the traffic in grain. Within forty days he had cleared them from all the seas. He brought the war against them to an end in Cilicia, received the surrender of the pirates and gave them land and cities.[7] The book also includes the achievements of Quintus Metellus against the Cretans, and an exchange of letters between Metellus and Gnaeus Pompeius. Quintus Metellus complains that the glory of his achievements has been stolen by Pompey, who sent his officer to Crete to receive the surrender of cities. Pompey makes a statement to show that his action was justified.[8] B.C. 67

mutinies, cf. his section 90. For the troops of Valerius Flaccus, violently taken over by Fimbria, cf. above, LXXXII f.

[5] 68–7 B.C. Cf. above, XCVIII, note 3; fr. 24.

[6] 67 B.C. Cf. Velleius II. xxxii. 3; Dio XXXVI. xlii. 1; Cicero, *pro Murena* xix. 40.

[7] Cf. Appian, *Mithridatic Wars* xiv. 94–6; Plutarch, *Pompey* xxiv–xxviii; Velleius II. xxxii. 4.

[8] 67 B.C. Cf. Appian, *Sicily* vi; Florus I. xlii. 4–6; Valerius Maximus VII. vi, ext. 1; Plutarch, *Pompey* xxix; Dio XXXVI. xviia, xviii f., xlv. 1.

A.U.C. 688 C. C. Manilius tribunus plebis magna indignatione nobilitatis legem tulit, ut Pompeio Mithridaticum bellum mandaretur. Contio eius bona. Q. Metellus perdomitis Cretensibus liberae in id tempus insulae leges dedit. Cn. Pompeius ad gerendum bellum adversus Mithridaten profectus cum rege Parthorum Prahate amicitiam renovavit, equestri proelio Mithridaten vicit. Praeterea bellum inter Phraaten Parthorum regem et Tigranen Armeniorum, ac deinde inter filium Tigranen patremque gestum continet.

CI. Cn. Pompeius Mithridaten nocturno proelio victum coegit Bosporum profugere. Tigranen in deditionem accepit eique ademptis Syria Phoenice Cilicia regnum Armeniae restituit. Coniuratio eorum, qui in petitione consulatus ambitus damnati erant, facta de interficiendis consulibus oppressa est. Cn. Pompeius cum Mithridaten persequeretur, in ultimas ignotasque gentes penetravit; Hiberos Albanosque, qui transitum non dabant, proelio vicit. Praeterea fugam Mithridatis per Colchos Heniochosque et res ab eo in Bosporo gestas continet.

A.U.C. 689–691 CII. Cn. Pompeius in provinciae formam Pontum redegit. Pharnaces filius Mithridatis bellum patri intulit. Ab eo Mithridates obsessus in regia cum veneno sumpto

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[1] 66 B.C. Cf. Plutarch, *Pompey* xxx, and especially Cicero, *pro Lege Manilia*, a reference to which editors are tempted to find in the second sentence of this Summary.

[2] Cf. Justinus XXXIX. v. 3, and references above, XCIX, page 123, note 8.

[3] Cf. Appian, *Mithridatic Wars* xv. 98.

[4] Cf. Dio XXXVI. xlv. 3, l–li.

[5] 66 B.C. Cf. Dio, XXXVI. xlix; Plutarch, *Pompey* xxxii. 5–9; Appian, *Mithridatic Wars* xv. 99–101 gives a slightly different account.

[6] Cf. Dio XXXVI. li–liii; Appian, *Mithridatic Wars* 104 f., Plutarch, *Pompey* xxxiii.

C. Gaius Manilius, tribune of the commons, to the great indignation of the leading men passed a law to entrust the Mithridatic War to Pompey. His address was excellent.[1] Quintus Metellus completely subdued the Cretans and established regulations for an island which up to that time had been free.[2] Gnaeus Pompeius set out to wage war against Mithridates, renewed the friendship with Phraates King of the Parthians, and defeated Mithridates in a cavalry battle.[3] The book also includes the war fought between Phraates King of the Parthians and Tigranes King of the Armenians, and thereafter the war between the younger Tigranes and his father.[4] B.C. 66

CI. Gnaeus Pompeius defeated Mithridates in a night engagement and compelled him to flee to Bosporus.[5] Pompey received the surrender of Tigranes and restored the rule of Armenia to him after depriving him of Syria, Phoenicia, and Cilicia.[6] A conspiracy, formed by those who had been condemned for bribery in their campaign for the consulship, and aimed at the assassination of the consuls, was suppressed.[7] While Gnaeus Pompeius was in pursuit of Mithridates, he penetrated to most remote and unknown tribes; he conquered in battle the Hiberi and Albani, who tried to deny him passage. The book also includes the flight of Mithridates through the Colchians and Heniochi, and his actions in Bosporus.[8]

CII. Gnaeus Pompeius organized Pontus as a province.[9] Pharnaces son of Mithridates made war on his father. He besieged Mithridates in his palace; Mithridates took poison, but had little success in bringing about his own B.C. 65–63

[7] Cf. Sallust, *Catiline* xviii; this was late in 66 B.C. Autronius and Sulla were the condemned consuls-elect.

[8] Cf. Dio XXXVI. liv; XXXVII. i–v; Appian, *Mithridatic Wars* xv. 102 f.; Plutarch, *Pompey* xxxiv f.

[9] Cf. Strabo XII. iii. 1–2, 6, pp. 541, 543; Velleius II. xxxviii. 6.

A.U.C. 689–691 parum profecisset ad mortem, a milite Gallo nomine Bitoco, a quo ut adiuvaret se petierat, interfectus est. Cn. Pompeius Iudaeos subegit; fanum eorum Hierosolyma, inviolatum ante id tempus, cepit. L. Catilina bis repulsam in petitione consulatus passus cum Lentulo praetore et Cethego et compluribus [1] aliis coniuravit de caede consulum et senatus, incendiis urbis et opprimenda re publica, exercitu quoque in Etruria comparato. Ea coniuratio industria M. Tullii Ciceronis eruta est. Catilina urbe pulso de reliquis coniuratis supplicium sumptum est.

A.U.C. 692–696 CIII. Catilina a C. Antonio procos. cum exercitu caesus est. P. Clodius accusatus, quod in habitu mulieris in sacrarium, quo [2] virum intrare nefas est, clam intrasset et uxorem Metelli pontificis stuprasset, absolutus est. C. Pontinus praetor Allobrogas, qui rebellaverant, ad Solonem domuit. P. Clodius ad plebem transit. C. Caesar Lusitanos subegit; eoque consulatus candidato et captante rem publicam invadere conspiratio inter tres civitatis principes facta est, Cn. Pompeium, M. Crassum, C. Caesarem. Leges agrariae a Caesare consule cum magna contentione, invito senatu et altero consule M. Bibulo, latae sunt. C. Antonius pro cos. in Thracia parum

[1] compluribus *Jahn*: cum pluribus NPH.
[2] quo *Gruter*: in quo MSS.

[1] 63 B.C. Cf. Appian, *Mithridatic Wars* xvi. 110 f., where the name of the "Gaul" is given as Bituitus; Dio XXXVII. x–xiv; fr. 25.

[2] Cf. Dio XXXVII. xv f.; Josephus, *Antiquities* XIV. ii. 3 (29)–v (79) = fr. 26; *War* I. vi. 2 (127)–vii (158). The capture of Jerusalem by Antiochus Epiphanes is overlooked.

[3] Cf. Cicero, *In Catilinam* I–IV, Sallust, *Catiline*.

[4] 62 B.C. Cf. Sallust, *Catiline* lix–lxi; Dio XXXVII. xxxix f.

[5] 62 B.C. Cf. Cicero, *ad Atticum* I. xii. 3, xiii f., xvi, xviii; Plutarch, *Caesar* x, *Cicero* xxviii f.; Dio XXXVII. xlv. The reference to Metellus appears to be a misunderstanding

death, so begging a Galatian soldier named Bitocus to help him, he received his death-blow from him.[1] Gnaeus Pompeius subdued the Jews; he captured their holy city Jerusalem, which had previously remained inviolate.[2] After Lucius Catilina had twice suffered defeat in the consular elections, he conspired with Praetor Lentulus, Cethegus, and many others to slaughter the consuls and the senate, set fire to the city, and destroy the commonwealth; an army was also made ready in Etruria. This conspiracy was extirpated by the energy of Marcus Tullius Cicero. Catiline was driven from the city, and the other conspirators were executed.[3] B.C. 65–63

CIII. Catiline and his army were slaughtered by Proconsul Gaius Antonius.[4] Publius Clodius was accused of having secretly entered in women's garb a shrine which no man might lawfully enter, and there debauching the wife of Metellus the pontiff; but Clodius was acquitted.[5] Praetor Gaius Pontinus subdued the Allobroges, who had risen in arms, near Solo.[6] Publius Clodius transferred to the commons.[7] Gaius Caesar subdued the Lusitanians; when he was standing for the consulship and plotting to attack the constitution, a clandestine agreement was made by three leading public men, Gnaeus Pompeius, Marcus Crassus, and Gaius Caesar. Agrarian laws were passed by Gaius Caesar as consul after much strife against the opposition of the senate and the other consul Marcus Bibulus.[8] Gaius Antonius as proconsul met with little B.C. 62–58

of the charge of incest with his sister Clodia which was made at Clodius' trial, cf. Plutarch. Metellus Celer was an augur, not a pontiff.

[6] 61 B.C. Cf. Cicero, *de Provinciis Consularibus* 32; Dio XXVII. xlvii f., XXXIX. lxv. 1, who gives the name of the city as Solonium.

[7] 59 B.C. Cf. Cicero *de Domo Sua* xxix. 77, *pro Sestio* 16, *ad Atticum* II. xii. 1, VIII. iii. 3; Suetonius, *Julius* xx, *Tiberius* ii; Plutarch, *Cato* xxxiii.

[8] Cf. Dio XXXVII. lii–liv; Plutarch, *Caesar* xi–xiv, *Pompey* xlvii f., *Crassus* xiv; Suetonius, *Julius* xviii–xx.

A.U.C. 692–696 prospere rem gessit. M. Cicero lege a P. Clodio tribuno plebis lata, quod indemnatos cives necavisset, in exilium missus est. Caesar [1] in provinciam Galliam profectus Helvetios, vagam gentem, domuit, quae sedem quaerens per provinciam Caesaris Narbonensem [2] iter facere volebat. Praeterea situm Galliarum continet. Pompeius de liberis Mithridatis et Tigrane Tigranis filio triumphavit Magnusque a tota contione consalutatus est.

A.U.C. 696–698 CIV. Prima pars libri situm Germaniae moresque continet. C. Caesar cum adversus Germanos, qui Ariovisto duce in Galliam transcenderant, exercitum duceret rogatus ab Aeduis et Sequanis, quorum ager possidebatur, trepidationem militum propter metum novorum hostium ortam adlocutione exercitus inhibuit et victos proelio Germanos Gallia expulit. M. Cicero Pompeio inter alios se exerente [3] et T. Annio Milone tribuno plebis ingenti gaudio senatus ac totius Italiae ab exilio reductus est. Cn. Pompeio per quinquennium annonae cura mandata est. Caesar Ambianos, Suessionas, Viromanduos, Atrebates, Belgarum populos, quorum ingens multitudo erat, proelio victos in deditionem accepit; ac deinde contra Nervios unius ex his civis [4] cum magno discrimine pugnavit eamque gentem delevit, quae bellum gessit, donec ex LX

[1] est. Caesar *add.* R : *om.* MSS.
[2] Narbonensem *Gronovius* : narbonem MSS.
[3] se *add. Walter* : *om.* MSS.
[4] civis *Rossbach* : civitatis MSS.

[1] 61–0 B.C. Cf. Obsequens 61a, Dio XXXVIII. x.
[2] 58 B.C. Cf. Dio XXXVIII. xii–xvii; Plutarch, *Cicero* xxx–xxxii; Cicero, *ad Atticum* II. xviii–xxv, and his two orations *On His Return*.
[3] 58 B.C. Cf. Caesar, *Gallic War* I. i–xxix.
[4] Cf. Plutarch, *Pompey* xlv. It is not clear why Pompey's triumph is entered at this point, nor why Mithridates himself was not mentioned as the opponent. Certainly Pompey had adopted the name *Magnus* long since.

success in a campaign in Thrace.[1] Marcus Cicero was sent into exile by a law passed by Publius Clodius as tribune of the commons, on the charge of having put citizens to death without a trial.[2] Caesar set out for his province of Gaul and conquered the Helvetians, a nomad people, which was seeking an abode and wished to travel through Caesar's province of Narbonese Gaul. The book also includes a description of the regions of Gaul.[3] Pompey celebrated a triumph over the sons of Mithridates and Tigranes son of Tigranes, and was unanimously hailed as The Great by an assembly.[4] B.C. 62–58

CIV. The first part of the book contains a description of the geography and customs of Germany. Gaius Caesar led his army against the Germans who had crossed over into Gaul under the leadership of Ariovistus. Caesar's help was invited by the Aedui and Sequani, whose territory was being occupied. A panic among his soldiers, caused by their fear of the unfamiliar enemy, was checked by Caesar in a speech to his army; he defeated the Germans in battle and drove them from Gaul.[5] At the instance of Pompey, among others, and of the tribune of the commons Titus Annius Milo, Marcus Cicero was brought back from exile, amid great rejoicing on the part of the senate and of all Italy.[6] Supervision of the grain supply for a period of five years was assigned to Gnaeus Pompeius.[7] Caesar conquered in battle and received the surrender of the Ambiani, Suessiones, Viromandui, Atrebates, and the Belgian tribes, whose numbers were huge. Thereafter he fought at great risk against the Nervii, one of the latter peoples, and so wiped out this tribe which had made war, that of sixty thousand fighting men, five hundred remained, B.C. 58–56

[5] 58 B.C. Cf. Caesar, *Gallic War* I. xxxi–liv, and for a description of Germany, VI. xxi–xxviii.
[6] 57 B.C. Cf. Cicero's two orations *post Reditum*; Appian, *Civil Wars* II. iii. 16; Plutarch, *Cicero* xxiii.
[7] Cf. Plutarch, *Pompey* xlix. f.

A.U.C. 696–698

armatorum D [1] superessent, ex DC senatoribus tres tantum evaderent. Lege lata de redigenda in [2] provinciae formam Cypro et publicanda pecunia regia M. Catoni administratio eius rei mandata est. Ptolemaeus Aegypti rex ob iniurias, quas patiebatur a suis, relicto [3] regno Romam venit. C. Caesar Venetos, gentem Oceano iunctam, navali proelio vicit. Praeterea res a legatis eius eadem fortuna gestas continet.

A.U.C. 698–699

CV. Cum C. Catonis tribuni plebis intercessionibus comitia tollerentur, senatus vestem mutavit. M. Cato in petitione praeturae praelato Vatinio repulsam tulit. Idem cum legem impediret, qua provinciae consulibus in quinquennium, Pompeio Hispaniae, Crasso Syria et Parthicum bellum dabantur, a C. Trebonio tribuno plebis, legis auctore, in vincula ductus est. A. Gabinius procos. Ptolemaeum reduxit in regnum Aegypti, eiecto Archelao, quem sibi regem adsciverant. Victis Germanis in Gallia Caesar [4] Rhenum transcendit et proximam partem Germaniae domuit; ac deinde Oceano in Britanniam primo parum prospere tempestatibus adversis traiecit, iterum [5] felicius; magnaque multitudine hostium caesa aliquam partem insulae in potestatem redegit.

[1] D *Zangemeister*: a MSS.
[2] in *add. edd.*: *om.* MSS.
[3] relicto *add. Halm, Rossbach*: *om.* MSS.
[4] Caesar *Jahn*: caesis MSS.
[5] iterum felicius *Gronovius*: iterum parum felicius MSS.

[1] Cf. *Gallic War* II. xii–xxxiii.
[2] Cf. Plutarch, *Cato* xxxiv–xxxviii.
[3] 56 B.C. Cf. Plutarch, *Cato* xxxv; Dio XXXIX. xii–xvi; Cicero, *ad Familiares* I. i–vii, *ad Quintum Fratrem* II. ii f.
[4] Cf. *Gallic War* III; Crassus and Labienus were the subordinates chiefly active at this time.

and of six hundred senators only three escaped.[1] When a law was passed concerning the establishment of Cyprus as a province and the confiscation of the royal funds, Marcus Cato was assigned to administer the matter.[2] Ptolemy King of Egypt left his kingdom and came to Rome because of the wrongs he had suffered at the hands of his people.[3] Gaius Caesar conquered in a naval battle the Veneti, a tribe adjoining the Ocean. The book also includes the successes achieved by his staff officers with good fortune to match their commander's.[4]

B.C. 58–56

CV. When the elections were blocked by the vetoes of Gaius Cato, tribune of the commons, the senate put on mourning.[5] Marcus Cato suffered a defeat in his campaign for the praetorship when Vatinius received the preference.[6] When the same Marcus Cato was blocking the law by which the consuls were assigned provinces for a five-year period, the Spains being given to Pompey, Syria and the war with Parthia to Crassus, Cato was taken into custody by Gaius Trebonius, tribune of the commons and the sponsor of the law.[7] Proconsul Aulus Gabinius restored Ptolemy to the throne of Egypt, after expelling Archelaus, whom the Egyptians had chosen as King.[8] After conquering the Germans in Gaul, Caesar crossed the Rhine and subdued the nearest portion of Germany. After that, he crossed the Ocean to Britain, at first with little success because of unfavourable weather, but on a second occasion with better fortune; he slaughtered a large number of the enemy and acquired control over a certain portion of the island.[9]

B.C. 56–55

[5] 56 B.C. Cato acted in the interest o Pompey and Crassus, cf. Dio XXXIX. xxvii. 3.
[6] Cf. Plutarch, *Pompey* lii. 2, *Cato* xlii.
[7] 55 B.C. Cf. Dio XXXIX. xxxiv f.; Plutarch, *Pompey* lii. 3; *Cato* xliii.
[8] Cf. Cicero, *in Pisonem* xxi. 48–50; Dio XXXIX. lv–lix; Josephus, *Antiquities* XIV. vi. 2 (98 f.), *War* I. viii. 7 (175).
[9] Cf. *Gallic War* IV–V. xxiii; frs. 29, 30.

A.U.C. 700–701 CVI. Iulia Caesaris filia, Pompeii uxor, decessit, honosque ei a populo habitus est, ut in campo Martio sepeliretur. Gallorum aliquot populi Ambiorige duce, rege [1] Eburonum, defecerunt; a quibus Cotta et Titurius legati Caesaris circumventi insidiis cum exercitu, cui praecerant, caesi sunt. Et cum aliarum quoque legionum castra oppugnata magno labore defensa essent, inter quae [2] eius, cui in [3] Treveris praecerat Q. Cicero, ab ipso Caesare hostes proelio fusi sunt. M. Crassus bellum Parthis inlaturus Euphraten flumen transit, victusque proelio, in quo et filius eius cecidit, cum reliquias exercitus in collem recepisset, evocatus in conloquium ab hostibus velut de pace acturis, quorum dux erat Surenas, comprehensusque et ne quid vivus pateretur repugnans, interfectus est.

A.U.C. 701–702 CVII. C. Caesar Treveris in Gallia victis iterum in Germaniam transit, nulloque ibi hoste invento reversus in Galliam Eburonas et alias civitates, quae conspiraverant, vicit et Ambiorigem in fuga persecutus est.[4] P. Clodii a T. Annio Milone, candidato consulatus, Appia via ad Bovillas occisi corpus plebs in curia cremavit. Cum seditiones inter candidatos consulatus Hypsaeum Scipionem Milonem essent, qui armis ac vi contendebant, ad comprimendas eas Cn. Pompeio legato . . .[5] et a senatu consul tertio factus est absens et solus, quod nulli alii umquam. . . .[6] Quaestione decreta de morte P. Clodii Milo iudicio damnatus in exilium actus est. Lex lata est,

[1] rege *add. Gronovius, Rossbach*: om. MSS.
[2] inter quae *Drakenborch*: interque NPR.
[3] cui in *Madvig*: quin N: qui in P.
[4] est *add. edd.*: *om.* NPR.
[5] lacunam indicavit *Rossbach.*
[6] lacunam indicavit *Sigonius.*

[1] 54 B.C. Cf. Plutarch, *Pompey* liii. 1–4, *Caesar* xxiii. 4; Dio XXXIX. lxiv.
[2] Cf. *Gallic War* V. xxvi–lii.

CVI. Julia, Caesar's daughter and Pompey's wife, died, and the people voted her the distinction of being buried in the Campus Martius.[1] Several peoples of Gaul, under the leadership of Ambiorix King of the Eburones, revolted. They trapped Cotta and Titurius, Caesar's staff-officers, in ambush and killed them along with the army which they commanded. The camps of other legions also were besieged, and were defended with great difficulty, among them the camp among the Treveri commanded by Quintus Cicero; but Caesar himself routed the enemy in battle.[2] Marcus Crassus crossed the Euphrates with the intention of invading Parthia, and was beaten in a battle in which his son also fell. When Crassus had withdrawn the remnants of his army to a hill, he was summoned to a parley by the enemy, whose leader was Surenas, as if they meant to discuss a truce; Crassus was then seized, and when he resisted, to avoid suffering indignity while alive, he was killed.[3] B.C. 54–53

CVII. After overcoming the Treveri in Gaul, Caesar crossed into Germany again, found no enemy there, and on returning to Gaul, overcame the Eburones and other states which had banded together, and pursued Ambiorix in his flight.[4] When Publius Clodius was slain on the Appian Way near Bovillae by Titus Annius Milo, who was standing for the consulship, the commons burned Clodius' body in the senate house. There were riots caused by the candidates for the consulship, Hypsaeus, Scipio, and Milo, who were contending with armed force; Gnaeus Pompeius was deputized to check these riots . . . and he was made consul for the third time by the senate in his absence and without colleague, which had never been done for anyone else. An investigation of the death of Publius Clodius was voted; Milo was condemned by the court and sent B.C. 53–52

[3] 54–3 B.C. Cf. Plutarch, *Crassus* xvi–xxxiii; Dio XL. xii–xxvii.
[4] 53 B.C. Cf. *Gallic War* VI. vii–x, xxix–xliv.

A.U.C. 701–702 ut ratio absentis Caesaris in petitione consulatus haberetur, invito et contra dicente M. Catone. Praeterea res gestas a C. Caesare adversus Gallos, qui prope universi Vercingetorige Arverno duce defecerunt, et laboriosas obsidiones urbium continet, inter quas Avarici Biturigum et Gergoviae Arvernorum.

A.U.C. 702–703 CVIII. C. Caesar Gallos ad Alesiam vicit omnesque Galliae civitates, quae in armis fuerant, in deditionem accepit. C. Cassius,[1] quaestor M. Crassi, Parthos, qui in Syriam transcenderant, cecidit. In petitione consulatus M. Cato repulsam tulit, creatis consulibus Ser. Sulpicio M. Marcello. C. Caesar Bellovacos cum aliis Gallorum populis domuit. Praeterea contentiones[2] inter consules de successore C. Caesari mittendo, agente in senatu M. Marcello consule, ut Caesar ad petitionem consulatus veniret, cum is lege lata in tempus[3] consulatus provincias obtinere deberet, resque a M. Bibulo in Syria gestas continet.

A.U.C. 703–705 CIX qui est civilis belli primus.
Causae civilium armorum et initia referuntur contentionesque de successore C. Caesari mittendo, cum se dimissurum exercitus negaret, nisi a Pompeio dimit-

[1] Cassius *Frobenius*: caesius NPIIR.
[2] contentiones *Aldina*: continet MSS.
[3] in tempus *Gronovius*: in id tempus MSS.

[1] 52 B.C. Cf. Dio XL. xlviii–lv; Plutarch, *Pompey* liv f., *Cicero* xxxv; Appian, *Civil Wars* II. iii. 21–4; Asconius, pp. 28 f., 31 Riessling-Scholl = pp. 32 f., 35–6 Clark; Cicero, *pro Milone*.
[2] Cf. Plutarch, *Caesar* xxix; Appian, *Civil Wars* II. iv. 25; Dio XL. li. 2.
[3] Cf. *Gallic War* VII. i–liii.
[4] 52 B.C. Cf. *Gallic War* VII. lxviii–xc.
[5] Cf. Cicero, *Philippics* XI. xiv. 35; Josephus, *Antiquities* XIV. vii. 3 (119–122).

into exile.[1] A law was passed that Caesar should be allowed to stand for the consulship while away from Rome, despite the objection and eloquence of Marcus Cato.[2] The book also includes the achievements of Caesar against the Gauls, who seceded almost without exception under the leadership of Vercingetorix, an Arvernian; the toilsome sieges of certain cities are described, including Avaricum of the Bituriges and Gergovia of the Arverni.[3] B.C. 53–52

CVIII. Gaius Caesar conquered the Gauls at Alesia and received the surrender of all the states of Gaul that had taken up arms.[4] Gaius Cassius, the quaestor of Marcus Crassus, inflicted great loss on the Parthians, who had crossed into Syria.[5] In standing for the consulship, Marcus Cato received a setback when Servius Sulpicius and Marcus Marcellus were elected consuls.[6] Gaius Caesar subdued the Bellovaci and other Gallic peoples.[7] The book also includes the strife between the consuls over sending out a successor to Gaius Caesar; Consul Marcus Marcellus proposed in the senate that Caesar should return to stand for the consulship, although according to the law which had been passed he was obliged to command his provinces till the time when he became consul.[8] The book also includes the achievements of Marcus Bibulus in Syria.[9] B.C. 52–51

CIX. Which is the First on the Civil War. B.C. 51–49
The causes and first steps of the civil war are described, and the strife over sending out a successor to Gaius Caesar, since he refused to discharge his armies, unless Pompey

[6] For 51 B.C. Cf. Plutarch, *Cato* xlix f.; Dio XL. lviii.
[7] 51 B.C. Cf. *Gallic War* VIII, especially vii–xxii.
[8] Cf. Plutarch, *Caesar* xxix; Appian, *Civil Wars* II. iv. 25 f.; Dio XL. lix; Cicero, *ad Familiares* VIII. i. 2, ii. 2; viii. 4–9.
[9] Cf. Dio XL. xxx. 1; Cicero, *ad Atticum* VI. i. 14, v. 3, viii. 5; VII. ii. 8.

A.U.C. 703–705 terentur. Et C. Curionis tribuni plebis primum adversus Caesarem, dein pro [1] Caesare actiones continet. Cum senatus consultum factum esset, ut successor Caesari mitteretur, M. Antonio et Q. Cassio tribunis plebis, quoniam intercessionibus id senatus consultum impediebant, urbe pulsis . . .[2] mandatumque a senatu consulibus et Cn. Pompeio, ut viderent, ne quid res publica detrimenti caperet. C. Caesar bello inimicos persecuturus cum exercitu in Italiam venit, Corfinium cum L. Domitio et P.[3] Lentulo cepit eosque dimisit, Cn. Pompeium ceterosque partium eius Italia expulit.

A.U.C. 705 CX qui est civilis belli secundus.

C. Caesar Massiliam, quae portas cluserat, obsedit et relictis in obsidione urbis eius legatis C. Trebonio et D. Bruto, profectus in Hispaniam L. Afranium et M.[4] Petreium legatos Cn. Pompeii cum septem legionibus ad Ilerdam in deditionem accepit omnesque incolumes dimisit, Varrone quoque legato Pompeii cum exercitu in potestatem suam redacto. Gaditanis civitatem dedit. Massilienses duobus navalibus proeliis victi [5] post longam obsidionem potestati Caesaris se permiserunt. C. Antonius legatus Caesaris male adversus Pompeianos in Illyrico rebus gestis captus est; in quo bello Opitergini

[1] dein pro *Sigonius*: depr. N: de p. R. P.
[2] *lacunam indicavit Rossbach, perisse putavit* Caesar sine exercitu Romam venire iussus.
[3] P. *Perizonius*: L. MSS.
[4] M. *Sigonius*: C. MSS.
[5] victi *ed. Mediolanensis*: vicit NPIIR.

[1] 51 B.C. Cf. Appian, *Civil Wars* II. iv. 27; Dio XL. xii 3 f.; Plutarch, *Caesar* xxx; Cicero, *ad Familiares* VIII. xi. 3, *ad Atticum* VI. ii. 6, iii. 4; Caesar, *Gallic War* VIII. lii. 4.

discharged his.[1] The book also includes the moves of Gaius Curio, a tribune of the commons, first against Caesar, and then in his favour.[2] When a decree of the senate was passed that a successor to Caesar should be sent out, Marcus Antonius and Quintus Cassius, tribunes of the commons, were driven from the city because they tried to block this decree of the senate with their vetoes, and the consuls and Gnaeus Pompeius were charged by the senate to see to it that no harm befell the commonwealth.[3] When Gaius Caesar entered Italy with an army to make war on his personal enemies, he captured Corfinium, together with Lucius Domitius and Publius Lentulus, set these men free, and drove out of Italy Gnaeus Pompeius and the others of his faction.[4] B.C. 51–49

CX. Which is the Second on the Civil War. B.C. 49

Gaius Caesar besieged Marseilles, which had closed its gates to him; he left his staff officers Gaius Trebonius and Decimus Brutus in charge of the siege, set out for Spain and received at Ilerda the surrender of Lucius Afranius and Marcus Petreius, deputies of Gnaeus Pompeius, together with their seven legions. He let them all go unharmed; Varro, also a deputy of Pompey, along with his army, was brought under Caesar's control. He granted citizenship to the people of Gades. The people of Marseilles, after losing two naval battles, put themselves after a long siege into Caesar's hands.[5] Gaius Antonius, Caesar's deputy, met with ill success against the followers of Pompey in Illyricum, and was taken prisoner; in this campaign some Opitergini from across the Po, who were

[2] 51–50 B.C. Cf. Appian, *Civil Wars* II. iv. 26–29; Dio XL. lxi f.; Velleius II. xlviii. 3 f.; Valerius Maximus IX. i. 6.
[3] 49 B.C. Cf. Caesar, *Civil War* I. i f.; Dio XLI. i–iii; Appian, *Civil War* II. iv. 32 f.; Plutarch, *Caesar* xxix–xxxv; Suetonius, *Julius* xxix–xxxiv; Velleius II. xlix.
[4] Cf. Caesar, *Civil War* I. vii–xxviii, and the secondary sources cited in note 3; fr. 32.
[5] 49 B.C. Cf. Caesar, *Civil War* I. xxxiv–lviii. Cf. below, p. 139, note 6.

A.U.C. 705 Transpadani, Caesaris auxiliares, rate sua ab hostium navibus clusa, potius quam in potestatem hostium venirent, inter se concurrentes occubuerunt. C. Curio, legatus Caesaris in Africa, cum prospere adversus Varum Pompeianarum partium ducem pugnasset, a Iuba rege Mauretaniae cum exercitu caesus est. C. Caesar in Graeciam traiecit.

A.U.C. 706 CXI qui est civilis belli tertius.

M. Caelius [1] Rufus praetor, cum seditiones in urbe concitaret novarum tabularum spe plebe sollicitata, abrogato magistratu pulsus urbe Miloni exuli, qui fugitivorum exercitum contraxerat, se coniunxit. Uterque, cum bellum molirentur, interfecti sunt. Cleopatra regina Aegypti ab Ptolemaeo fratre regno pulsa est. Propter Q. Cassii [2] praetoris avaritiam crudelitatemque Cordubenses in Hispania cum duabus Varronianis [3] legionibus a partibus Caesaris desciverunt. Cn. Pompeius ad Dyrrachium obsessus a Caesare et, praesidiis eius cum magna clade diversae partis expugnatis, obsidione liberatus translato in Thessaliam bello, apud Pharsaliam acie victus est. Cicero in castris remansit, vir nihil minus quam ad bella natus. Omnibusque adversarum partium, qui se potestati victoris permiserant, Caesar ignovit.

[1] Caelius *Sigonius*: caecilius NPIIR.
[2] Cassii *Xylander*: cati NPII: Catuli R.
[3] Varronianis *Gronovius*: varianis MSS.

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[1] Cf. Appian, *Civil Wars* II. vii. 47; Dio XLI. xl. 2; for the Opitergini, cf. Lucan IV. 462–581 and the scholia; Florus II. xiii. 33.
[2] Cf. Caesar, *Civil War* II. xxiii–xliv; Appian, *Civil Wars* II. vii. 44–6.
[3] Cf. Caesar, *Civil War* III. ii–vii.

auxiliaries of Caesar's, attacked each other and perished rather than fall into the hands of the enemy when their raft was surrounded by enemy ships.[1] Gaius Curio, Caesar's deputy in Africa, scored a success against Varus, the leader of Pompey's party, but was slain in the defeat of his army by Juba King of Mauretania.[2] Gaius Caesar crossed over to Greece.[3] B.C. 49

CXI. Which is the Third on the Civil War. B.C. 48

Praetor Marcus Caelius Rufus stirred up riots in the city by inciting the commons with the hope of a cancellation of debts; he was deprived of office and driven from the city, and joined Milo the exile who had assembled a force of runaway slaves. Both men were put to death while trying to stir up war.[4] Cleopatra, Queen of Egypt, was driven from the throne by her brother Ptolemy.[5] Because of the cruelty and greed of Praetor Quintus Cassius, the people of Cordova in Spain and two of Varro's legions deserted Caesar's cause.[6] Gnaeus Pompeius was besieged by Caesar at Dyrrachium and after storming the latter's fortifications with great loss to the defending side, released himself from the siege, moved the theatre of operations to Thessaly, and was beaten in battle at Pharsalia.[7] Cicero, a man destined by nature for anything rather than war, remained in Pompey's camp.[8] All those on the opposing side who put themselves into the victor's hands were pardoned by Caesar.[9]

[4] 48 B.C. Cf. Caesar, *Civil War* III. xx–xxii and Dio XLII. xxii–xxv, who differ as to details; Cicero, *ad Familiares* VIII. xvii. Milo and Caelius tried to operate in Campania and southern Italy.
[5] Cf. Caesar, *Civil War* III. ciii. 2; Plutarch, *Caesar* xlviii. 5.
[6] Cf. Caesar, *Civil War* II. xix–xxi. This Varro was the noted scholar, some of whose work is preserved. Cassius was propraetor. Cf. *Bellum Alexandrinum* 48–54; fr. 37.
[7] Cf. Caesar, *Civil War* III. xxx–xcix; frs. 33–34.
[8] Cf. Plutarch, *Cicero* xxxviii f.; fr. 34a.
[9] Cf. Plutarch, *Caesar* xlvi; Velleius II. lii. 4–6; Suetonius, *Julius* lxxv. 2.

A.U.C. 706–707

CXII qui est civilis belli quartus.

Trepidatio victarum partium in diversas orbis terrarum partes et fuga referuntur. Cn. Pompeius cum Aegyptum petisset, iussu Ptolemaei regis, pupilli sui, auctore Theodoto praeceptore, cuius magna apud regem auctoritas erat, et Pothino occisus est ab Achilla,[1] cui id facinus erat delegatum, in navicula, antequam in terram exiret. Cornelia uxor et Sex. Pompeius filius Cypron refugerunt. Caesar post tertium diem insecutus, cum ei Theodotus caput Pompeii et anulum obtulisset, infensus est et inlacrimavit; sine periculo Alexandriam tumultuantem intravit. Caesar dictator creatus Cleopatram in regnum Aegypti reduxit et inferentem bellum Ptolemaeum isdem auctoribus, quibus Pompeium interfecerat, cum magno suo discrimine evicit. Ptolemaeus dum fugit, in Nilo navicula subsedit. Praeterea laboriosum M. Catonis in Africa per deserta cum legionibus iter et bellum a Cn. Domitio adversus Pharnacen [2] parum prospere gestum continet.

A.U.C. 707

CXIII qui est civilis belli quintus.

Confirmatis in Africa Pompeianis partibus, imperium earum P. Scipioni delatum est, Catone, cui ex aequo deferebatur imperium, cedente. Et cum de diruenda urbe Utica propter favorem civitatis eius in Caesarem deliberaretur, idque ne fieret M. Cato tenuisset, Iuba suadente ut dirueretur, tutela eius et custodia mandata est Catoni. Cn. Pompeius [3] Magni filius in Hispania contractis viribus,

[1] Achilla *edd.*: archelao MSS.
[2] Pharnacen *Sigonius*: prahaten MSS.
[3] Cn. Pompeius *Sigonius*: in pompei MSS.

[1] 48 B.C. Cf. Plutarch, *Pompey* lxxvii–lxxx; *Caesar* xlviii; Caesar, *Civil War* III. ciii–cvi; Dio XLII. i–viii, xiii; fr. 39a.

[2] 48–7 B.C. Cf. Caesar, *Civil War* III. cvi–cxi, *Alexandrine War* i–xxxiii. On Caesar's (second) dictatorship, cf. Dio XLII. xx. 3 and xxi.

[3] Cf. Plutarch, *Cato* lvi.

CXII. Which is the Fourth on the Civil War. B.C. 48–47

An account is given of the panic and flight of the defeated side to various parts of the world. When Gnaeus Pompeius made for Egypt, he was killed by Achillas, to whom the crime had been assigned, in a small boat before he set foot on land, by order of King Ptolemy, Pompey's own ward, instigated by Pothinus and Theodotus the king's tutor, whose influence with the king was great. Cornelia, Pompey's wife, and Sextus Pompeius, his son, took refuge in Cyprus. The third day thereafter Caesar arrived in pursuit, and when Theodotus brought him Pompey's head and ring, he was indignant and burst into tears.[1] In spite of rioting, Caesar entered Alexandria safely. Caesar was made dictator, restored Cleopatra to the throne of Egypt, and when Ptolemy attacked him at the instigation of the same men at whose advice he had killed Pompey, Caesar won through after incurring great personal risk. While Ptolemy was fleeing, his boat sank in the Nile.[2] The book also includes the toilsome march of Marcus Cato with his legions through the deserts of Africa,[3] and a campaign conducted with little success by Gnaeus Domitius against Pharnaces.[4]

CXIII. Which is the Fifth on the Civil War. B.C. 47

When Pompey's partisans had entrenched themselves strongly in Africa, supreme command was conferred on Publius Scipio, after Cato had declined an offer of joint command. A discussion took place as to rasing the city of Utica because this commonwealth favoured Caesar; Marcus Cato maintained that this should not be done, while Juba argued that it should be destroyed; Cato was appointed protector and warden of the city.[5] Gnaeus Pompeius, the son of Pompey the Great, assembled forces

[4] Cf. Dio XLII. xlv f.; Strabo XII. iii. 14. 547; [Caesar], *Alexandrine War* xxxiv–xl.

[5] Cf. Plutarch, *Cato* lvii f.; Velleius II. liv. 2–4; Appian, *Civil Wars* II. xii. 87; [Caesar], *African War* iv. 4; Dio XLII. lvi f.

A.U.C. 707

quarum ducatum nec Afranius nec Petreius excipere volebant, bellum adversus Caesarem renovavit. Pharnaces Mithridatis filius, rex Ponti,[1] sine ulla belli mora victus est. Cum seditiones Romae a P. Dolabella tribuno plebis, legem ferente de novis tabulis, excitatae essent et ex ea causa plebs tumultuaretur, inductis a M. Antonio magistro equitum in urbem militibus octingenti ex plebe [2] caesi sunt. Caesar veteranis cum seditione missionem postulantibus dedit, et cum in Africam traiecisset, adversus copias Iubae regis cum discrimine magno pugnavit.

A.U.C. 707-708

CXIV qui est civilis belli sextus.

Bellum in Syria Caecilius Bassus, eques Romanus Pompeianarum partium, excitavit, relicto a legione Sexto Caesare, quae ad Bassum transierat, occisoque eo. Caesar Scipionem praetorem Iubamque vicit ad Thapsum castris eorum expugnatis. Cato audita re cum se percussisset Uticae et interveniente filio curaretur, inter ipsam curationem rescisso vulnere expiravit, anno aetatis quadragesimo octavo. Petreius Iubam seque interfecit. P. Scipio in nave circumventus honestae morti vocem quoque adiecit: quaerentibus enim imperatorem hostibus dixit, "imperator se bene habet." Faustus et Afranius occisi. Catonis filio venia data. Brutus legatus Caesaris in Gallia Bellovacos rebellantes proelio vicit.

[1] rex Ponti *ed. Moguntina*: ex ponto NPIIR.
[2] octingenti e plebe *Frobenius*: octingentis aplebe MSS.

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[1] Cf. Dio XLIII. xxix f.; Appian, *Civil Wars* II. xii. 87.
[2] [Caesar], *Alexandrine War* lxv–lxxviii; Dio XLII. xlv–xlix; Appian, *Civil Wars* II. 91; *Mithridatic Wars* xvii. 120 f.
[3] 47 B.C. Cf. Dio XLII. xxix–xxxiii; Plutarch, *Antony* ix. 1 f.; [Caesar], *Alexandrine War* lxv. 1.
[4] Cf. [Caesar], *African War* i–vii; Dio XLII. lvi–lviii.

in Spain; neither Afranius nor Petreius would accept the command, and so Pompeius himself renewed the war against Caesar.[1] Pharnaces, son of Mithridates and King of Pontus was conquered without the slightest delay in the campaign.[2] When disturbances were stirred up in Rome by Publius Dolabella, tribune of the commons, who proposed a law to cancel debts, and as a result the commons were rioting, Marcus Antonius, the Master of the Horse, brought troops into the city and slew eight hundred of the commons.[3] When veterans mutinously demanded their discharge, Caesar granted it, and after crossing to Africa fought at great risk against the troops of King Juba.[4] B.C. 47

CXIV. Which is the Sixth on the Civil War. B.C. 47-46

Caecilius Bassus, a Roman knight of Pompey's party, stirred up war in Syria, after Sextus Caesar had been deserted by his legion, which went over to Bassus, and had been killed.[5] Caesar defeated Praetor Scipio and Juba at Thapsus and stormed their camp. When Cato at Utica heard of this defeat, he stabbed himself; his son intervened and tried to care for him, but he tore open the wound again while the nursing was going on and breathed his last, in the forty-eighth year of his age. Petreius killed Juba and himself. Publius Scipio was surrounded on his ship, and added to his honourable death a saying to match: for when his enemies called for "the general," he said, "The general is doing nicely." Faustus and Afranius were killed. Cato's son was granted a pardon.[6] Brutus,[7] Caesar's deputy in Gaul, won a battle over the rebellious Bellovaci.

[5] 47 B.C. Cf. Appian, *Civil Wars* III. xi. 77, IV. viii. 58; Dio XLVII. xxvi. 3–7; Cicero, *ad Familiares* XII. xviii. 1.
[6] 46 B.C. Cf. *African War*, lxxix–lxxxvi, lxxxix, xciii–xcvi; Dio XLIII. i–xiii; Appian, *Civil Wars* II. xiv. 96–100; Plutarch, *Caesar* liii f.; *Cato* lviii. 7–lxxiii; fr. 45.
[7] This was Decimus Brutus, cf. Appian, *Civil Wars* III. xiv. 98.

A.U.C. 708–709

CXV qui est civilis belli septimus.

Caesar quattuor triumphos duxit, ex Gallia, ex Aegypto, ex Ponto, ex Africa, epulum et omnis generis spectacula dedit. M. Marcello consulari senatu rogante reditum concessit; quo [1] beneficio eius Marcellus frui non potuit, a Cn. Magio cliente suo Athenis occisus. Recensum egit, quo censa sunt civium capita C̄L̄. Profectus in Hispaniam adversus Cn. Pompeium, multis utrimque expeditionibus factis et aliquot urbibus expugnatis summam victoriam cum magno discrimine ad Mundam urbem consecutus est. Necatus est Cn.[2] Pompeius, Sex. effugit.

A.U.C. 709–710

CXVI qui est civilis belli octavus.

Caesar ex Hispania quintum triumphum egit. Et cum plurimi maximique honores ei a senatu decreti essent, inter quos ut parens patriae appellaretur et sacrosanctus ac dictator in perpetuum esset, invidiae adversus eum causam praestiterunt, quod senatui deferenti hos honores, cum ante aedem Veneris Genetricis sederet, non adsurrexit, et quod a [3] M. Antonio consule, collega suo, inter Lupercos currente diadema capiti suo impositum in sella reposuit, et quod Epidio Marullo et Caesetio Flavo tribunis plebis invidiam ei [4] tamquam regnum adfectanti facientibus [5]

[1] quo *Gronovius*: qui MSS.
[2] Necatus est Cn. *add. Rossbach*: *om.* MSS.
[3] a *add. Gryphius*: *om.* MSS.
[4] ei *edd.*: et NPIIR.
[5] facientibus *add.* MacDonald: *om.* MSS.

[1] 46 B.C. Cf. Dio XLIII. xix–xxii; Appian, *Civil Wars* II. xv. 101 f.; Plutarch, *Caesar* lv; Suetonius, *Julius* xxxvii–xxxix.

[2] Cf. Cicero, *pro Marcello*; Cicero, *ad Familiares* IV. xii. 2, where the assassin's name is given as Publius Magius Cilo, and described as an intimate friend, *ad Atticum* XIII. x. 3; Valerius Maximus IX. xi. 4.

[3] This was a review of the list of those receiving the grain dole, and reduced their number by over half, cf. Suetonius,

B.C. 46–45

CXV. Which is the Seventh on the Civil War.

Caesar conducted four triumphs, for the campaigns in Gaul, in Egypt, in Pontus, and in Africa; he gave a banquet and all sorts of shows.[1] He permitted the return of the ex-consul Marcus Marcellus, at the request of the senate; Marcellus was unable to profit by this kindness of Caesar's, since he was killed at Athens by his client Gnaeus Magius.[2] Caesar conducted an enumeration in which one hundred and fifty thousand citizens were counted.[3] Caesar set out for Spain to attack Gnaeus Pompeius, and after much marching and countermarching by both sides and the storming of several cities, won a complete victory at great risk near the city of Munda. Gnaeus Pompeius was killed, Sextus escaped.[4]

B.C. 45–44

CXVI. Which is the Eighth on the Civil War.

Caesar celebrated his fifth triumph for the campaign in Spain.[5] When a great abundance of the highest distinctions were voted him by the senate, among which were the title of Father of the Fatherland, inviolability, and dictatorship for life,[6] occasions for a grudge against him were created because he did not rise from his seat before the temple of Mother Venus when the senate came to present him with these distinctions, because he laid in his chair a crown placed on his head by Consul Marcus Antonius, his colleague, who was running with the Luperci, and because when Epidius Marullus and Caesetius Flavus, tribunes of the commons, tried to excite a grudge against him, on the ground that he was aiming at monarchy, they

Julius xli. 3; Plutarch, *Caesar* lv. 3; Dio XLIII. xxi. 4, xxv. 2; Appian, *Civil Wars* II. xv. 102.

[4] 46–45 B.C. Cf. [Caesar], *Spanish War*; Dio XLIII. xxix–xl; Appian, *Civil Wars* II. xv. 103–105.

[5] October, 45 B.C. Cf. Dio XLIII. xlii; Suetonius, *Julius* xxxvii; Velleius II. lvi. 2.

[6] 44 B.C. Cf. Dio XLIII. xliii–xlv, XLIV. iv–vii; Suetonius lxxvi; Appian, *Civil Wars* II. xvi. 106; Plutarch, *Caesar* lvii.

A.U.C. 709–710 potestas abrogata est. Ex his causis conspiratione in eum facta, cuius capita fuerunt M. Brutus et C. Cassius et ex Caesaris partibus Dec. Brutus et C. Trebonius, in Pompeii curia occisus est viginti tribus vulneribus, occupatumque ab interfectoribus eius Capitolium. Oblivione deinde caedis eius a senatu decreta, obsidibus Antonii et Lepidi de liberis acceptis coniurati a Capitolio descenderunt. Testamento Caesaris heres ex parte dimidia institutus est C. Octavius, sororis nepos, et in nomen adoptatus.[1] Caesaris corpus cum in campum Martium ferretur, a plebe ante rostra crematum est. Dictaturae honos in perpetuum sublatus est. Chamates, humillimae sortis homo, qui se C. Marii filium ferebat, cum apud credulam plebem seditiones moveret, necatus est.

A.U.C. 710 CXVII. C. Octavius Romam ex Epiro venit (eo enim illum Caesar praemiserat bellum in Macedonia gesturus) ominibusque[2] prosperis exceptus et nomen Caesaris sumpsit. In confusione rerum ac tumultu M. Lepidus pontificatum maximum intercepit.[3] Et M. Antonius consul cum impotenter dominaretur legemque de per-

[1] adoptatus *Rossbach*: adoptatus est MSS.
[2] ominibusque *Frobenius*: omnibusque MSS.
[3] tumultu M. Lepidus pontificatum maximum intercepit *Sigonius*: tumultum lepidum pontificem tum maximum interfecit NPII.

[1] Cf. Dio XLIV. viii–xi; Suetonius lxxviii f.; Plutarch, *Caesar* lx f.
[2] Cf. Dio XLIV. xiii–xix; Suetonius lxxx–lxxxii; Appian, *Civil Wars* II. xvi. 111–117; Plutarch, *Caesar* lxiii–lxvi; frs. 46–48.
[3] Cf. Appian, *Civil Wars* II. xvii. 119, xix. 142; Dio XLIV. xx–xxxiv.
[4] Cf. Appian, *Civil Wars* III. i. 10 f., xiii. 94; Suetonius, *Julius* lxxxiii. 2; Nicolaus of Damascus, *Life of Caesar* xiii, xvii; Pliny, *Natural History* XXXV. vii. 21. These sources give Octavian's share as three-fourths.

were expelled from office.[1] For these reasons a conspiracy B.C. 45–44 was formed against him, the ringleaders of which were Marcus Brutus, Gaius Cassius, and of the followers of Caesar, Decimus Brutus and Gaius Trebonius. Caesar was done to death in Pompey's senate-house with twenty-three wounds, and the Capitol was seized by his assassins.[2] Thereafter when amnesty for this murder had been voted by the senate, and hostages had been delivered to them from among the sons of Antony and Lepidus, the conspirators came down from the Capitol.[3] By Caesar's will, Gaius Octavius, his sister's grandson, was named his heir with half the estate, and was adopted as his son.[4] While Caesar's body was being carried to the Campus Martius, it was burned by the commons before the Rostra.[5] The office of dictator was banned forever.[6] Chamates, a fellow of the lowest station, who claimed to be the son of Gaius Marius, began to cause disturbances among the credulous commons and was executed.[7]

CXVII. Gaius Octavius came to Rome from Epirus B.C. 44 (for Caesar had sent him ahead there because he was planning on a campaign in Macedonia) and being received with favourable omens also took the name of Caesar.[8] Amid political confusion and rioting Marcus Lepidus pre-empted the office of chief pontiff.[9] Consul Marcus Antonius also exercised a reckless tyranny, carried by violence a law concerning changes in the assignment of

[5] Cf. Cicero, *ad Atticum* XIV. x. 1; *Philippics* II. xxxvi. 90–1.
[6] Cf. Cicero, *Philippics* I. i. 3, II. xlv. 115.
[7] April, 44 B.C. Cf. Appian, *Civil Wars* III. i. 2, who calls the adventurer Amatius.
[8] Cf. Appian, *Civil Wars* III. ii. 12–14; Velleius II. lix. 6; Obsequens 68; Suetonius, *Augustus* viii, xcv; Dio XLV. iv. 4.
[9] Cf. *Res Gestae Divi Augusti* 10; Appian, *Civil Wars* II. xviii. 132; V. xiii. 131; Dio XLIV. liii. 6–7, who says that Antony tried in this way to side-track Lepidus.

A.U.C. 710 mutatione provinciarum per vim tulisset et Caesarem quoque petentem, ut sibi adversus percussores avunculi adesset, magnis iniuriis adfecisset, Caesar et sibi et rei publicae vires adversus eum paraturus deductos in colonias veteranos excitavit. Legiones quoque quarta et Martia signa ab Antonio ad Caesarem tulerunt. Deinde et complures saevitia M. Antonii, passim in castris suis trucidantis qui [1] ei [2] suspecti erant, ad Caesarem desciverunt. Dec. Brutus, ut petenti Cisalpinam Galliam Antonio obsisteret, Mutinam cum exercitu occupavit. Praeterea discursum utriusque partis virorum ad accipiendas provincias apparatusque belli continet.

A.U.C. 711 CXVIII. M. Brutus in Graecia sub praetexto rei publicae et suscepti contra M. Antonium belli exercitum, cui P. Vatinius praeerat, cum provincia in potestatem suam redegit. C. Caesari, qui privatus [3] rei publicae arma sumpserat, pro praetore [4] imperium a senatu datum est cum consularibus ornamentis adiectumque, ut senator esset. M. Antonius Dec. Brutum Mutinae obsedit; missique ad eum a senatu legati de pace parum ad componendam eam valuerunt. Populus Romanus saga sumpsit. M. Brutus in Epiro C. Antonium praetorem cum exercitu potestati suae subegit.

[1] trucidantis qui *Gronovius*: trucidati quia MSS.
[2] ei *Jahn*: et MSS.
[3] privatus *Gronovius*: primus NPIIR.
[4] pro praetore *Rossbach*: pro pr N: pro P.R. P: pro Po. Ro. R: propraetoris *Sigonius*.

[1] Cf. Suetonius, *Augustus* x; Appian, *Civil Wars* III. iii. 22–3; Cicero, *Philippics, e.g.* II. xlii. 109; Dio XLV. v–ix.

provinces, and inflicted great wrongs on Caesar, too, when B.C. 44 he sought Antony's support against the assassins of his great-uncle.[1] Caesar therefore began to acquire resources against Antony, both for his own benefit and for that of the state, by calling out the veterans who had been settled in colonies. The Fourth and Martian legions also transferred their allegiance from Antony to Caesar. Thereafter many more persons deserted to Caesar because of the savagery of Marcus Antonius, who butchered right and left those in his camp whom he suspected.[2] Decimus Brutus occupied Mutina with his army, in order to head off Antony, who was making for Cisalpine Gaul.[3] The book also includes the scattering of men on both sides to take over provinces, and the preparations for war.

CXVIII. In Greece Marcus Brutus gained control over B.C. 43 the army commanded by Publius Vatinius, and the province as well, on the pretext of the public welfare and of the campaign against Marcus Antonius which had been undertaken.[4] Gaius Caesar, who had as a private citizen taken up arms for the state, was given authority as propraetor with the insignia of a consul by the senate, with the further provision that he be a senator.[5] Marcus Antonius besieged Decimus Brutus in Mutina; and envoys sent him by the senate to treat for peace had little success in arranging it. The Roman people donned military cloaks.[6] Marcus Brutus in Epirus reduced Praetor Gaius Antonius and his army to submission.[7]

[2] Cf. Cicero, *ad Atticum* XVI. viii; *Philippics* III. ii–iii. 3–7; iv. 10; XIII. viii. 18.
[3] Cf. Cicero, *ad Familiares* XI. vi; *Philippics* III. iv. 8; Appian, *Civil Wars* III. viii. 49.
[4] 43 B.C. Cf. Dio XLVII. xxi. 4–7; Plutarch, *Brutus* xxv f.
[5] Cf. *Res Gestae* 1; *Philippics* V. xvii. 46.
[6] Cf. *Philippics* V. xiii. 36 f.; VI. ii–iii. 3–9; Dio XLVI. xxxi. 2.
[7] Cf. Appian, *Civil Wars* III. xi. 79, and the references in note 4, above.

A.U.C. 711

CXIX. C. Trebonius in Asia fraude P. Dolabellae occisus est. Ob id facinus Dolabella hostis a senatu iudicatus est. Cum Pansa consul male adversus Antonium pugnasset, A. Hirtius consul cum exercitu superveniens fusis M. Antonii copiis fortunam utriusque partis aequavit. Victus deinde ab Hirtio et Caesare Antonius in Galliam confugit et M. Lepidum cum legionibus, quae sub eo erant, sibi iunxit; hostisque a senatu cum omnibus, qui intra praesidia eius essent, iudicatus est. A. Hirtius, qui post victoriam in ipsis hostium castris ceciderat, et C.[1] Pansa ex vulnere, quod in adverso proelio exceperat, defunctus, in campo Martio sepulti sunt. Adversus C. Caesarem, qui solus ex tribus ducibus supererat, parum gratus senatus fuit, qui Dec. Brutо obsidione Mutinensi a Caesare liberato triumphi honore decreto Caesaris militumque eius mentionem non satis gratam habuit. Ob quae C. Caesar reconciliata per M. Lepidum cum M. Antonio gratia Romam cum exercitu venit et perculsis adventu eius his, qui in eum iniqui erant, cum XVIIII annos haberet, consul creatus est.

CXX. C. Caesar consul legem tulit de quaestione habenda in eos, quorum opera pater occisus esset; postulatique ea lege M. Brutus C. Cassius Dec. Brutus absentes damnati sunt. Cum M. Antoni[2] vires Asinius quoque Pollio et Munatius Plancus cum exercitibus suis adiuncti ampliassent, et Dec. Brutus, cui senatus ut persequeretur Antonium mandaverat, relictus a legionibus suis, profu-

[1] C. *Sigonius*: l. MSS.
[2] Antoni *Hahn*: antonius NPII.

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[1] 43 B.C. Cf. Appian, *Civil Wars* III. iii. 26; Cicero, *Philippics* XI. i–iv. 1–10; vii. 16; xii. 29–31, who seems to be quoting horror-rumours; Dio XLVII. xxix. 1–4.
[2] Cf. Appian, *Civil Wars* III. ix. 66, x. 76; Dio XLVI. xxxv–xxxix. 1.

B.C. 43

CXIX. Gaius Trebonius was killed in Asia by the treachery of Publius Dolabella. For this crime Dolabella was adjudged an enemy by the senate.[1] When Consul Pansa suffered a reverse against Antony, Consul Aulus Hirtius came up with his army and by routing the troops of Marcus Antonius, brought into balance the fortunes of the two sides. Antony, being defeated thereafter by Hirtius and Caesar, fled into Gaul and acquired the support of Marcus Lepidus and the legions which he commanded; Antony was declared an enemy by the senate together with everyone who was within his lines. Aulus Hirtius, who after his victory had fallen in the very camp of the enemy, and Gaius Pansa, who died of the wound received in the battle he lost, were buried in the Campus Martius.[2] The senate showed too little gratitude towards Gaius Caesar, the only survivor of the three commanders; for it voted the distinction of a triumph to Decimus Brutus who had been freed from siege at Mutina by Caesar, but made an insufficiently grateful reference to Caesar and his men. For this reason Gaius Caesar came to terms with Marcus Antonius through the mediation of Marcus Lepidus, came to Rome with his army, and stunning those who were ill-disposed towards him by the arrival of this force, was elected consul at the age of nineteen.[3]

CXX. Consul Gaius Caesar passed a law to bring to justice those concerned in the murder of his father; Marcus Brutus, Gaius Cassius, and Decimus Brutus were cited under that law and condemned by default.[4] Asinius Pollio and Munatius Plancus also joined Marcus Antonius with their armies and enlarged his strength. Moreover, Decimus Brutus, whom the senate had commissioned to pursue Antony, fled when deserted by his legions and was put to

[3] Cf. Velleius II. lxii–lxv; Dio XLVI. xxxix–xlix. On D. Brutus' triumph, cf. *Philippics* VI. iii. 8.
[4] 43 B.C. Cf. *Res Gestae* 2; Appian, *Civil Wars* III. xiv. 95; Dio XLVI. xlviii–xlix; Velleius II. lxix. 5.

A.U.C. 711 gisset caesus iussu Antonii, in cuius potestatem venerat, a Capeno Sequano interfectus est. C. Caesar pacem cum Antonio et Lepido fecit ita, ut tresviri rei publicae constituendae per quinquennium essent ipse et Lepidus et Antonius, et ut suos quisque inimicos proscriberent. In qua proscriptione plurimi equites Romani, CXXX senatorum nomina fuerunt, et inter eos L. Pauli, fratris M. Lepidi, et L. Caesaris, Antonii avunculi, et M. Ciceronis. Huius occisi a Popillio legionario milite, cum haberet annos LXIII, caput quoque cum dextra manu in rostris positum est. Praeterea res a M. Bruto in Graecia gestas continet.

CXXI qui editus post excessum Augusti dicitur.

C. Cassius, cui mandatum a senatu erat, ut Dolabellam hostem iudicatum bello persequeretur, auctoritate rei publicae adiutus Syriam cum tribus exercitibus, qui in eadem provincia erant, in potestatem suam redegit, Dolabellam in urbe Laodicia obsessum mori coegit. M. quoque Bruti iussu C. Antonius captus occisus est.

CXXII. M. Brutus adversus Thracas parumper [1] prospere rem gessit, omnibusque transmarinis provinciis exercitibusque in potestatem eius et C. Cassii redactis coierunt Smyrnae uterque ad ordinanda belli futuri consilia. M. Messalae Publicolam fratrem vinctum communi consilio condonaverunt.

[1] parumper *P. la Roche*: parum MSS: *del. Xylander.*

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[1] Cf. Appian, *Civil Wars* III. xiv. 97–98, where the executioner of Decimus is named as Camilus, a chieftain; Dio XLVI. liii.

[2] Cf. below, fr. 50; Dio XLVI. lv–lvi, XLVII. i–xix; Appian, *Civil Wars* IV. i–vi, 1–51; Plutarch, *Antony* xix–xx; *Res Gestae* 7; Obsequens 69.

[3] Cf. Dio XLVII. xx–xxxvi; Plutarch, *Brutus* xxiv–xxviii.

[4] 43 B.C. Cf. Dio XLVII. xxviii–xxx; Appian, *Civil Wars* IV. viii. 58–62.

death by order of Antony, into whose power he had come, B.C. 43 being struck down by Capenus, a Sequanian.[1] Gaius Caesar made terms with Antony and Lepidus, providing that he, Lepidus, and Antony, should be a board of three for regulating the commonwealth for a term of five years, and that each should proscribe his personal enemies. In this proscription, there were included a very large number of Roman knights, and the names of one hundred and thirty senators, among them Lucius Paulus, the brother of Lepidus, Lucius Caesar, the uncle of Antony, and Marcus Cicero. The last was slain at the age of sixty-three by Popillius, a legionary soldier, and his head and right hand were also placed on the Rostra.[2] The book also includes the achievements of Marcus Brutus in Greece.[3]

CXXI. Which is Said to have been Published After the Death of Augustus.

Gaius Cassius had been commissioned by the senate to conduct a campaign against Dolabella when the latter was declared an enemy; armed with the authority of the state, he gained control of Syria with three legions which were in that province, blockaded Dolabella in the city of Laodicea and compelled him to die.[4] Also, by order of Marcus Brutus, Gaius Antonius was taken prisoner and executed.[5]

CXXII. Marcus Brutus for a time conducted a successful campaign against the Thracians, and when all the overseas provinces and armies had been brought under his control and that of Gaius Cassius, the two men met at Smyrna to determine plans for the coming war.[6] By common agreement they pardoned their prisoner Publicola at the plea of his brother Marcus Messala.[7]

[5] Cf. Plutarch *Brutus* xxviii; Dio XLVII. xxi, xxiii f. tells a somewhat different story; also Appian, *Civil Wars* III. xi. 79; Cicero, *ad Brutum* I. ii. 3.

[6] Cf. Dio XLVII. xxv, xxxii–xxxv; Plutarch, *Brutus* xxviii–xxxv.

[7] Cf. Dio XLVII. xxiv. 3–6.

A.U.C. 711–712 CXXIII. Sex. Pompeius Magni filius collectis ex Epiro proscriptis ac fugitivis cum exercitu diu sine ulla loci cuiusquam possessione praedatus in mari Messanam oppidum in Sicilia primum, dein totam provinciam occupavit occisoque Pompeio Bithynico praetore Q. Salvidenum legatum Caesaris navali proelio vicit. Caesar et Antonius cum exercitibus in Graeciam traiecerunt, bellum adversus Brutum et Cassium gesturi. Q. Cornificius in Africa T. Sextium, Cassianarum partium ducem, proelio vicit.

A.U.C. 712 CXXIV. C. Caesar et Antonius apud Philippos vario eventu adversus Brutum et Cassium pugnaverunt, ita ut dextra utriusque cornua vincerent et castra quoque utrimque ab his, qui vicerant, expugnarentur. Sed inaequalem fortunam partium mors Cassii fecit, qui cum in eo cornu fuisset, quod pulsum erat, totum exercitum fusum ratus mortem conscivit. Altera dein die [1] victus M. Brutus et ipse vitam finiit, exorato Stratone fugae comite, ut sibi gladium adigeret.[2] Annorum erat circiter XL, . . .[3] inter quos Q. Hortensius occisus est.

A.U.C. 713 CXXV. Caesar relicto trans mare Antonio (provinciae ea [4] parte imperii positae ei cesserant [5]) reversus in Italiam veteranis agros divisit. Seditiones exercitus sui, quas

[1] dein die *Jahn*: deinde MSS.
[2] adigeret *Gruter*: adiceret MSS.
[3] idemque fecerunt principum Romanorum circiter XL *add. Sigonius.*
[4] ea *Jahn*: ex NPIIR.
[5] ei cesserant *Jahn*: recesserat NPII.

[1] 43–2 B.C. Cf. Appian, *Civil Wars* IV. xi. 83–5; Dio XLVIII. xvi–xviii.
[2] Cf. Dio XLVII. xxxvii. 1–2; Appian, *Civil Wars* IV. xi. 86.
[3] 42 B.C. Cf. Dio XLVIII. xxi. 1–4, who calls Sextius a follower of Antony; Appian, *Civil Wars* IV. vii. 53, where Sextius acts for Octavian. Sextius was appointed by Julius

B.C. 43–42 CXXIII. Sextus Pompeius, son of Pompey the Great, gathered proscribed men and runaway slaves from Epirus and for a long time engaged in piracy in the Mediterranean with his force without possessing any base; he first seized the city of Messana in Sicily, then the whole island, and after slaying Praetor Pompeius Bithynicus, defeated Quintus Salvidenus, the deputy of Caesar, in a naval battle.[1] Caesar and Antony with their armies crossed over to Greece to conduct the war against Brutus and Cassius.[2] Quintus Cornificius won a battle in Africa against Titus Sextius, the leader of the party of Cassius.[3]

B.C. 42 CXXIV. Gaius Caesar and Antony fought a battle at Philippi against Brutus and Cassius with an outcome incongruous in that each right wing won and the victorious part of both sides proceeded to storm the opposing camp. The balance of fortune was destroyed by the death of Cassius, who was on the wing which was routed and committed suicide, thinking that the whole army was routed. On the second day of battle, Marcus Brutus was also beaten and put an end to his life, begging Strato who was accompanying him in flight to drive a sword through him. His age was about forty . . . among whom Quintus Hortensius was killed.[4]

B.C. 41 CXXV. Caesar left Antony overseas (the provinces situated in that part of the empire had yielded to him), returned to Italy and assigned lands to his veterans.[5] He checked at great risk disturbances in his army which

Caesar, so that the reference to Cassius is a copyist's error; Sextius probably sided with Antony, served Octavian when the latter was not at odds with Antony, and had no opportunity to strike for Antony against Octavian.
[4] 42 B.C. Cf. Dio XLVII. xxxvii–xlix; Appian, *Civil Wars* IV. xi. 87, xvii. 138; Plutarch, *Brutus* xxxviii–liii; *Antony* xxii; Velleius II. lxx f.
[5] 41 B.C. Cf. Appian, *Civil Wars* V. i. 1–11 (Antony); ii. 12–13; Dio XLVIII. iii, vi.

A.U.C. 713 corrupti [1] a Fulvia M. Antonii uxore milites adversus imperatorem suum concitaverant, cum gravi periculo inhibuit. L. Antonius consul, M. Antonii frater, eadem Fulvia consiliante bellum Caesari intulit. Receptis in partes suas populis, quorum agri veteranis adsignati erant, et M. Lepido, qui custodiae urbis cum exercitu praeerat, fuso hostiliter in urbem irrupit.

A.U.C. 713–714 CXXVI. Caesar cum esset annorum viginti trium, obsessum in oppido Perusia L. Antonium conatumque aliquotiens erumpere et repulsum fame coegit in deditionem venire ipsique et omnibus militibus eius ignovit, Perusiam diruit. Redactisque in potestatem suam omnibus diversae partis exercitibus bellum citra ullum sanguinem confecit.

A.U.C. 714–716 CXXVII. Parthi Labieno, qui Pompeianarum partium fuerat, duce in Syriam inruperunt victoque Decidio Saxa M. Antonii legato totam eam provinciam occupaverunt. M. Antonius cum ad bellum adversus Caesarem gerendum . . .[2] uxore Fulvia, ne concordiae ducum obstaret, pace facta cum Caesare sororem eius Octaviam in matrimonium duxit. Q. Salvidenum consilia nefaria adversus Caesarem molitum indicio suo protraxit, isque damnatus mortem conscivit. P. Ventidius Antonii legatus Parthos proelio victos Syria expulit Labieno eorum duce occiso.

[1] corrupti *Ascenius*: correpti MSS.
[2] gerendum . . . uxore *H. J. Müller*: gerendum uxore MSS: gerendum incitaretur ab uxore R, *Gronovius*: gerendum profectus esset, mortua *E. Schwartz*.

[1] Cf. Dio XLVIII. iv–xiii; Appian, *Civil Wars* V. ii. 14, iii. 24, 27–31. Appian says that Octavian's troubles with the army antedated the break with Antony; cf. Suetonius, *Augustus* xiv.

soldiers bribed by Fulvia, the wife of Marcus Antonius, had stirred up against their general. Consul Lucius Antonius, brother of Marcus Antonius, on the advice of the same Fulvia, attacked Caesar in war. Having joined to his faction the peoples whose land had been assigned to the veterans, he routed Marcus Lepidus, who was in charge of the defence of Rome with his army, and made an armed incursion into the city.[1] B.C. 41

CXXVI. When Caesar was twenty-three years old, he besieged Lucius Antonius in the city of Perusia and beat back several attempts to break out; when hunger compelled Antonius to surrender, Caesar pardoned him and all his soldiers but destroyed Perusia. He brought under his control all the armies of the opposing side, and concluded the war without bloodshed.[2] B.C. 41–40

CXXVII. The Parthians invaded Syria under the command of Labienus, who belonged to Pompey's party; they defeated Decidius Saxa the deputy of Marcus Antonius and overran that whole province.[3] When Marcus Antonius . . . to make war against Caesar . . . his wife Fulvia, so that there should be no obstacle to agreement between the leaders, he came to terms with Caesar and married Octavia, Caesar's sister.[4] Antony exposed the fact that Quintus Salvidenus, on his own evidence, had undertaken dastardly schemes against Caesar; Salvidenus was condemned and committed suicide.[5] Publius Ventidius, Antony's deputy, defeated the Parthians in battle and drove them out of Syria, after Labienus their leader B.C. 40–38

[1] 41–40 B.C. Cf. Dio XLVIII. xiv–xvi. 1; Appian, *Civil Wars* V. iv. 32, vi. 50; Velleius II. lxxiv.
[2] 40 B.C. Cf. Dio XLVIII. xxiv. 4, xxvi; Justinus XLII. iv. 7; Strabo XII. viii. 9 (574); XIV. ii. 24 (660).
[3] Cf. Plutarch, *Antony* xxx f.; Dio XLVIII. xxviii f.; Appian, *Civil Wars* V. vi. 56, vii. 65; frs. 51–53.
[4] Cf. Dio XLVIII. xxxiii. 2 f.; Appian, *Civil Wars* V. vii. 66; Velleius II. lxxvi. 4; Suetonius, *Augustus* lxvi. 2.

A.U.C. 714–716 Cum vicinus Italiae hostis Sex. Pompeius Siciliam teneret et commercium annonae impediret, postulatam cum eo pacem Caesar et Antonius fecerunt ita, ut Siciliam provinciam haberet. Praeterea motus Africae et bella ibi gesta [1] continet.

A.U.C. 716–717 CXXVIII. Cum Sex. Pompeius rursus latrociniis mare infestum redderet nec pacem, quam acceperat, praestaret, Caesar necessario adversus eum bello suscepto duobus navalibus proeliis cum dubio eventu pugnavit. P.[2] Ventidius legatus M. Antonii Parthos in Syria proelio vicit regemque eorum occidit. Iudaei quoque a legatis Antonii subacti sunt. Praeterea belli Siculi apparatum continet.

A.U.C. 718 CXXIX. Adversus Sex. Pompeium vario eventu navalibus proeliis pugnatum est, ita ut ex duabus Caesaris classibus altera, cui Agrippa praecerat, vinceret, altera, quam Caesar duxerat, deleta expositi in terram milites in magno periculo essent. Victus deinde Pompeius in Siciliam profugit. M. Lepidus, qui ex Africa velut ad societatem belli contra Sex. Pompeium a Caesare gerendi traiecerat, cum bellum Caesari quoque inferret, relictus ab [3]

[1] ibi gesta *Sigonius*: ingesta NPH.
[2] P. *Sigonius*: INPHR.
[3] relictus ab *Frobenius*: relicto NPR.

[1] 39 B.C. Cf. Dio XLVIII. xxxix f.; Frontinus II. v. 36; Plutarch, *Antony* xxxiii. 4.
[2] 40–39 B.C. Cf. Plutarch, *Antony* xxxii; Dio XLVIII. xxx. 4, xxxi, xxxvi–xxxviii; Appian, *Civil Wars* V. viii. 67–73; Suetonius, *Augustus* xvi. 1.
[3] 40–38 B.C. Cf. Dio XLVIII. xlv. 1–3; Appian, *Civil Wars* V. iii. 26.

lost his life.[1] Since Sextus Pompeius, an enemy at the borders of Italy, held Sicily and interfered with the traffic in grain, Caesar and Antony made peace with him at his demand, the terms being that he should hold Sicily as a province.[2] The book also includes the uprising in Africa and the campaigns conducted there.[3] B.C. 40–38

CXXVIII. When Sextus Pompey again made the sea dangerous through acts of piracy, and did not maintain the peace to which he had agreed, Caesar undertook the inevitable war against him and fought two drawn naval battles.[4] Publius Ventidius, the deputy of Marcus Antonius, won a battle with the Parthians in Syria, and killed their king.[5] The Jews were also subdued by Antony's deputies.[6] The book also contains the preparations for war in Sicily.[7] B.C. 38–37

CXXIX. Naval battles with divergent outcomes were fought against Sextus Pompeius: of two fleets of Caesar's, the one, commanded by Agrippa, was victorious, the other, led by Caesar himself, was destroyed, and the soldiers who had been set ashore from it were in grave danger. Later, Pompeius was beaten and fled into Sicily.[8] Marcus Lepidus crossed over from Africa as if to join forces with Caesar in waging the war against Sextus Pompeius, but when he also attacked Caesar, he was deserted by his army, and lost his B.C. 36

[4] 38 B.C. Cf. Dio XLVIII. xlv. 4, xlix. 1; Appian, *Civil Wars* V. ix. 77–87; the account given by these writers tells of defeats suffered by Octavian.
[5] Cf. Dio XLIX. xix–xxi; Velleius II. lxxviii. 1; Justinus XLII. iv. 7–10; the "king" was Pacorus, actually the crown prince.
[6] Cf. Dio XLIX. xxii. 3–6; Josephus, *Antiquities* XIV. xvi. (468–491). Cf. *Summary* CII. and fr. 26.
[7] 37 B.C. Cf. Dio XLVIII. xlix. 2–5; Appian, *Civil Wars* V. ix. 92.
[8] 36 B.C. Cf. Dio XLIX. i–xi. 1; Appian, *Civil Wars* V. x. 96, xii. 122.

A.U.C. 718 exercitu, abrogato triumviratus honore vitam impetravit. M. Agrippa navali corona a Caesare donatus est, qui honos nulli ante eum habitus erat.

CXXX. M. Antonius dum cum Cleopatra luxuriatur, tarde Mediam ingressus bellum cum legionibus XVIII et $\overline{\text{XVI}}$ equitum Parthis intulit, et cum duabus legionibus amissis, nulla re prospere cedente retro rediret, insecutis subinde Parthis et ingenti trepidatione et magno totius exercitus periculo in Armeniam reversus est XXI diebus CCC milia fuga emensus. Circa $\overline{\text{VIII}}$ hominum tempestatibus amisit. Tempestates quoque infestas super tam infeliciter susceptum Parthicum bellum culpa sua passus est, quia hiemare in Armenia nolebat, dum ad Cleopatram festinat.

A.U.C. 718–720 CXXXI. Sex. Pompeius cum in fidem M. Antonii veniret, bellum adversus eum in Asia moliens, oppressus a legatis eius occisus est. Caesar seditionem veteranorum cum magna pernicie motam inhibuit, Iapydas [1] et Dalmatas et Pannonios subegit. Antonius Artavasden [2] Armeniae regem fide data perductum in vincula conici iussit, regnumque Armeniae filio suo ex Cleopatra nato dedit, quam uxoris loco iam pridem captus amore eius habere coeperat.

[1] Iapydas *Sigonius*: iapygas NPΠ.
[2] Artavasden *Frobenius*: artunden NPΠ.

[1] Cf. Dio XLIX. xi. 2, xii; Appian, *Civil Wars* V. xi. 98 104; xiii. 122–128; Velleius II. lxxx.
[2] Cf. Dio XLIX. xiv. 3; Velleius II. lxxxi. 3.

position on the Board of Three, but successfully begged for his life.[1] Marcus Agrippa was presented by Caesar with a naval crown, a distinction never previously conferred on anyone.[2] B.C. 36

CXXX. While Marcus Antonius was revelling with Cleopatra, he at long last invaded Media and attacked the Parthians with eighteen legions and sixteen thousand cavalry. He lost two legions and retired after meeting with no success in any of his enterprises; the Parthians thereupon followed at his heels, but after great consternation and grave risk to his whole army, he returned to Armenia, covering in his flight three hundred miles in twenty-one days. He lost about eight thousand men in storms. He encountered this unfavourable weather, in addition to the Parthian campaign which he had so unluckily undertaken, by his own fault, since he was unwilling to winter in Armenia, in his hurry to join Cleopatra.[3]

B.C. 36–34 CXXXI. Although Sextus Pompeius put himself under the protection of Marcus Antonius, he took steps to make war on him in Asia, and being surprised by Antony's deputies, was killed.[4] Caesar checked an uprising among the veterans which caused great damage, and subdued the Iapydae, Dalmatians, and Pannonians.[5] Antony enticed Artavasdes king of Armenia by giving him his word, and then ordered him to be thrown into chains; Antony gave the throne of Armenia to his son born of Cleopatra, with whom he had long been madly in love, and whom he now began to treat as his wife.[6]

[3] 36 B.C. Cf. Plutarch, *Antony* xxxvi–li; Dio XLIX. xxii–xxxiii.
[4] 36–35 B.C. Cf. Dio XLIX. xviii; Appian, *Civil Wars* V. xiv. 133–144.
[5] 35 B.C. Cf. Dio XLIX. xxxiv–xxxvii; Appian, *Illyrian Wars* iv. 18; Suetonius, *Augustus* xx.
[6] 34 B.C. Cf. Dio XLIX. xxxix–xli; Plutarch, *Antony*, liv. 4; Velleius II. lxxxii. 3 f.

A.U.C. 720–723 CXXXII. Caesar in Illyrico Dalmatas domuit. Cum M. Antonius ob amorem Cleopatrae, ex qua duos filios habebat, Philadelphum et Alexandrum, neque in urbem venire vellet neque finito IIIviratus [1] tempore imperium deponere bellumque moliretur, quod urbi et Italiae inferret, ingentibus tam navalibus quam terrestribus copiis ob hoc contractis remissoque Octaviae sorori Caesaris repudio, Caesar in Epirum cum exercitu traiecit. Pugnae deinde navales et proelia equestria secunda Caesaris referuntur.

A.U.C. 723–725 CXXXIII. M. Antonius ad Actium classe victus Alexandriam profugit; obsessusque a Caesare in ultima desperatione rerum, praecipue occisae Cleopatrae falso rumore impulsus se ipse interfecit. Caesar Alexandria in potestatem redacta, Cleopatra, ne in arbitrium victoris veniret, voluntaria morte defuncta, in urbem reversus tres triumphos egit, unum ex Illyrico, alterum ex Actiaca victoria, tertium de Cleopatra, imposito fine civilibus bellis altero et vicesimo anno. M. Lepidus Lepidi, qui triumvir fuerat, filius, coniuratione adversus Caesarem facta bellum moliens oppressus et occisus est.

A.U.C. 725–727 CXXXIV. C. Caesar rebus compositis et omnibus provinciis in certam formam redactis Augustus quoque cognominatus est; et mensis Sextilis in honorem eius

[1] IIIviratus *Gruter*: eius ratus MSS.

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[1] 34–33 B.C. Cf. Dio XLIX. xxxviii. 2–3; Appian, *Illyrian Wars* v. 25–8.

[2] 33–31 B.C. Cf. Dio L. i–xiv. 2; Plutarch, *Antony* liii–lxii.

[3] 31 B.C. Cf. Dio L. xiv. 3, xxxv; Plutarch, *Antony* lxiii–lxxvii; Velleius II. lxxxiv–lxxxvii. 1.

[4] 30 B.C. Cf. below, fr. 54; Plutarch, *Antony* lxxviii–lxxxvi; Horace, *Epodes* 9 and *Odes* I. 37; Velleius II. lxxxvii. 1.

B.C. 34–31 CXXXII. Caesar overcame the Dalmatians in Illyricum.[1] Marcus Antonius because of his passion for Cleopatra, by whom he had two sons, Philadelphus and Alexander, was unwilling to return to Rome or to lay down his command when his term on the Board of Three ended; he organized a campaign of invasion against Rome and Italy, and gathered huge forces on sea as well as on land for this purpose, and sent a notice of divorce to Octavia, Caesar's sister. Caesar crossed with an army to Epirus. A description is given of the ensuing naval battles and cavalry engagements, in which Caesar was victorious.[2]

B.C. 31–29 CXXXIII. Marcus Antonius was defeated at sea off Actium and fled to Alexandria; when besieged by Caesar and reduced to complete hopelessness, he was driven to suicide above all by the false report that Cleopatra had been killed.[3] When Caesar had reduced Alexandria, and Cleopatra had died a voluntary death to avoid falling into the hands of the victor,[4] Caesar returned to Rome to celebrate three triumphs, one for the campaign in Illyricum, a second for his victory at Actium, and the third over Cleopatra.[5] He made an end of the civil wars in their twenty-second year.[6] Marcus Lepidus, son of the Lepidus who had been on the Board of Three, formed a conspiracy against Caesar and while taking steps towards war was caught and killed.[7]

B.C. 29–27 CXXXIV. When Gaius Caesar had brought about a peaceful settlement and had arranged a definite organization for all the provinces, he was also given the title of Augustus and the month called Sixth was renamed in his

[5] 29 B.C. Cf. *Res Gestae* 4; Suetonius, *Augustus* xxii; *C.I.L.* I², pp. 76, 180, 248; Dio LI. xxi. 5–9.

[6] This inclusive reckoning seems to set 50 B.C., when the Senate took steps against Caesar, as the beginning year of the civil wars.

[7] 31–30 B.C. Cf. Dio LIV. xv. 4; Appian, *Civil Wars* IV. vi. 50; Suetonius, *Augustus* xix; Velleius II. lxxxviii.

A.U.C. 725–727 appellatus est. Cum ille conventum Narbone egit, census a tribus Galliis, quas Caesar pater vicerat, actus. Bellum adversus Basternas et Moesos et alias gentes a M. Crasso . . .[1] referuntur.

A.U.C. 726–729 CXXXV. Bellum a M. Crasso adversus Thracas et a Caesare adversus Hispanos gestum refertur, et Salassi, gens Alpina, perdomiti.

Librorum CXXXVI et CXXXVII periochae desunt.

A.U.C. 739–741 CXXXVIII. Raeti a Tib. Nerone et Druso, Caesaris privignis,[2] domiti. Agrippa, Caesaris gener, mortuus. A Druso census actus est.

A.U.C. 742 CXXXIX. Civitates Germaniae cis Rhenum et trans Rhenum positae oppugnantur a Druso, et tumultus, qu ob censum exortus in Gallia erat, componitur; ara dei[3] Caesaris ad confluentem Araris[4] et Rhodani dedicata, sacerdote creato C. Iulio Vercondaridubno Aeduo.

[1] *lacunam indicavit Hertz, Jahn.*
[2] privignis *Gronovius*: privigno MSS.
[3] ara dei *Rossbach*: ardi NPII.
[4] Araris *Ascensius*: maris NPIIR.

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[1] January, 27 B.C. was the time when Augustus offered to retire and received these honours; Livy appended the account of the settlement directly to the account of the civil wars. Cf. *Res Gestae* 34; *C.I.L.* I², p. 231; Ovid, *Fasti* I. 589 f.; Dio LIII. iii–xvi; Macrobius, *Saturnalia* I. xii. 35.

[2] April 27 B.C. Cf. Dio LIII. xxii. 5.

[3] 29 BC.. Crassus, the son of the triumvir, had been consul in the first half of 30, cf. Dio LI. iv. 3, and for the campaign, Dio LI. xxiii–xxvii; Florus II. xxvi.

[4] 28 B.C. Cf. references for CXXXIV, note 3.

[5] 27–5 B.C. Cf. Dio LIII. xxv f.; Suetonius, *Augustus* xx, xxvi. 3, lxxxi.

honour.[1] When he held assizes at Narbo, a census was conducted of the three Gauls, which his father Caesar had conquered.[2] The book also describes the war waged against the Bastarnae and Moesians and other tribes by Marcus Crassus. . . .[3] B.C. 29–27

CXXXV. An account is given of the war waged by Marcus Crassus against the Thracians,[4] of that waged by Caesar against the Spaniards,[5] and of the final conquest of the Salassi, an Alpine tribe.[6] B.C. 28–25

The Summaries of Books CXXXVI and CXXXVII are missing.

CXXXVIII. The Raeti were overcome by Tiberius Nero and Drusus, the stepsons of Caesar.[7] Agrippa, Caesar's son-in-law, died.[8] Drusus conducted the census.[9] B.C. 15–13

CXXXIX. The states of Germany situated on the near and farther sides of the Rhine were attacked by Drusus, and the uprising that arose in Gaul over the census was settled.[10] An altar of the divine Caesar was dedicated at the confluence of the Arar and the Rhone, Gaius Julius Vercondaridubnus, an Aeduan, being appointed the priest. B.C. 12

[6] 25 B.C. Cf. Strabo IV. vi. 7 (205); Dio LIII. xxv. and fr. 79.

[7] 15 B.C. Cf. Horace, *Odes* IV. 4 and 14; Strabo VII. i. 5 (292); *Res Gestae* 26; Dio LIV. xxii; Velleius II. xcv; *C.I.L.* I², pp. 244, 248, 323.

[8] March, 12 B.C. Cf. Dio LIV. xxviii; Velleius II. xcvi. 1; Pliny, *Natural History* VII. viii. 45 f.

[9] 13 B.C. This was a census of the three provinces of Gaul, of which Drusus was now the governor.

[10] 12 B.C. Cf. Dio LIV. xxxii. and *C.I.L.* XIII. 1668. ii. 35–38. The trouble over the census may have been occasioned by a Roman demand for financial ratings. The dedication of the altar of Caesar on August 1 (cf. Suetonius, *Claudius* ii, where the year is wrongly given), furnished an occasion for calling the Gauls together at Lyons and quieting them.

A.U.C. 741–743

CXL. Thraces domiti a L. Pisone,[1] item Cherusci Tencteri[2] Chauci aliaeque Germanorum trans Rhenum gentes subactae a Druso referuntur. Octavia soror Augusti defuncta, ante amisso filio Marcello; cuius monimenta sunt theatrum et porticus nomine eius dicata.

A.U.C. 743–744

CXLI. Bellum adversus transrhenanas gentes a Druso gestum refertur, in quo inter primores pugnaverunt Chumstinctus et Avectius tribuni ex civitate Nerviorum. Dalmatas et Pannonios Nero frater Drusi subegit. Pax cum Parthis facta est signis a rege eorum, quae sub Crasso et postea sub Antonio capta erant, redditis.

A.U.C. 745

CXLII. Bellum adversus Germanorum trans Rhenum civitates gestum a Druso refertur. Ipse ex fractura, equo super crus eius conlapso, XXX die, quam id acciderat, mortuus. Corpus a Nerone fratre, qui nuntio valetudinis evocatus raptim adcucurrerat, Romam pervectum et in

[1] L. Pisone *Sigonius*: caepione NPII.
[2] Cherusci Tencteri *Gronovius*: ce rusti cenchrei NP.

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[1] 13–11 B.C. Cf. Dio LIV. xxxiv. 5–7; Velleius II. xcviii.

[2] 12 B.C. Cf. Dio LIV. xxxii. 2 f.; Suetonius, *Claudius* i. 2; Strabo VII. i. 3–4 (290 f.); Tacitus, *Germania* xxxiv; *Annals* II. viii.

B.C. 13–11

CXL. The Thracians were subdued by Lucius Piso[1]; an account is also given of the subjugation by Drusus of the Cherusci, Tencteri, Chauci, and other German tribes across the Rhine.[2] Octavia the sister of Augustus died,[3] having previously lost her son Marcellus; he has memorials in the theatre and colonnade dedicated in his name.[4]

B.C. 11–10

CXLI. An account is given of the war conducted by Drusus against the tribes across the Rhine, in which two of the most conspicuous fighters were Chumstinctus and Avectius, tribunes from the state of the Nervii.[5] Nero, Drusus' brother, subdued the Dalmatians and Pannonians.[6] Peace was made with the Parthians, on the restoration by their king of the standards captured from Crassus and later from Antony.[7]

B.C. 9

CXLII. An account is given of the war waged by Drusus against the German states across the Rhine. Drusus himself died of a broken leg, sustained when his horse fell on it, on the thirtieth day after the accident. His body was conveyed to Rome by his brother Nero, who had arrived posthaste on news of his illness; burial

[3] 11 B.C. Cf. Suetonius, *Augustus* lxi, who sets the date a year or more later; Dio LIV. xxxv. 4. Marcellus' death occurred in 23 B.C. Cf. Vergil, *Aeneid* VI. 868–886; Propertius III. xviii; Dio LIII. xxx. 4–6.

[4] For the buildings, cf. *Res Gestae Divi Augusti* 21; Dio LIV. xxvi. 1; Pliny, *Natural History* VIII. xxv (65).

[5] 11–10 B.C. Cf. Dio LIV. xxxiii, xxxvi; Florus II. xxx. 23–25; Orosius VI. xxi. 15–17; and above, CXL, note 2.

[6] 11–10 B.C. Cf. *Res Gestae* 30; Dio LIV. xxxiv. 3, xxxvi. 3; LV. ii. 4.

[7] Since this occurred in 20 B.C., it is not clear why Livy mentioned it only at this point. Cf. *Res Gestae* 29; Dio LIV. viii. 1–3; Suetonius, *Tiberius* ix. 1; *Augustus* xxi. 3; Velleius II. xci. 1; Ovid, *Fasti* V. 579–94, *Tristia* II. 227 f.; Strabo XVI. i. 28 (748); Justinus XLII. v. 10 f.

A.U.C. 745 tumulo C. Iulii reconditum. Laudatus est a Caesare Augusto vitrico, et supremis eius plures honores dati. Clades Quinctilii Vari.[1]

Clades Quinctilii Vari II *solus*.

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[1] 9 B.C. Cf. Dio LV. i–ii (penetration of Drusus to the Elbe); Strabo VII. i. 3 (291) and *C.I.L.* I², p. 248, for his death; Valerius Maximus V. v. 3; Pliny, *Natural History* VII. xx (84); Suetonius, *Tiberius* vii. 3; Tacitus, *Annals* III.

was in the tomb of Gaius Julius. The eulogy was pronounced by Caesar Augustus, his stepfather, and many distinctions were conferred on him at his funeral.[1] Disaster to Quintilius Varus.[2] B.C. 9

v, for Tiberius and the funera procession; above references and Ovid, *Fasti* I. 597, *Tristia* IV. ii. 39, for burial and honours, which included an altar in Germany (Tacitus, *Annals* II. vii), a triumphal arch near Rome, statues, and a cenotaph in Mainz (Dio; Suetonius, *Claudius* i. 3).

[2] Cf. Obsequens 72 and the note; Velleius II. cxvii–cxx; the date was A.D. 9.

FRAGMENTS

FRAGMENTA OXYRHYNCHI REPERTA

1. f]amili
. . . .
. . . .
rom
A.U.C. 653 C. Marius] v c[os.
isme
cu]stodia
2. sullanis
m eum
enonre

LIBER LXXX]VIII [1]

A.U.C. 672 C. Mario Cn. Papirio co]ss.
Sulla cum] Samin[itibus ante
portam Collinam debell]avit p[ulcherrimam
3. uir
4. st

[1] *Sic Rossbach ex imagine photographica: at Kenyon litteras in papyro dispicere negat.*

MINOR FRAGMENTS FROM OXYRHYNCHUS

1.

In the fifth consulship of Gaius Marius B.C. 101

2. pertaining to Sulla

BOOK LXXXVIII [1]

In the consulship of Gaius Marius and Gaius Papirius, Sulla ended the war against the Samnites at the Colline Gate, (and stained a) most glorious (victory with utmost cruelty [2]). B.C. 82

3.

4.

[1] The existence of this numeral is not certain, see critica note.

[2] The words in parenthesis are Rossbach's conjecture for completing the sentence. Nothing can be made of the other lines of letters.

LIBRORUM DEPERDITORUM FRAGMENTA

Liber XII?

1. Servius ad Vergil. *Aen.* I. 456: Livius " ni Pyrrhus unicus pugnandi artifex, magisque in proelio quam bello bonus."

Liber XIII?

2. Servius ad Vergil. *Aen.* I. 476: Curribus falcatis usos esse maiores, et Livius et Sallustius docent.

3. Priscian XV, p. 69K: Livius in XIII, " Privato nos tenuissemus."

[Liber XIV]

4. *Cf. infra, fr.* 81.

FRAGMENTS

From Book XII?

1. Servius, note on *Aeneid* I. 456: Livy: " if Pyrrhus had not been a consummate master of tactics, but excellent in a battle rather than in a campaign."

References to the campaigns of Pyrrhus in Italy are found in *Summaries* XII and XIII. The Roman opinion that Pyrrhus was weak on strategy may have arisen from their natural inability to perceive that war with Rome was to Pyrrhus a side issue, an excuse for establishing suzerainty over " Great Greece "—south Italy and Sicily.

From Book XIII?

2. Servius, note on *Aeneid* I. 476: Both Livy and Sallust inform us that our ancestors used scythed chariots.

Archæological evidence for chariot fighting in Italy seems to be lacking, unless the use of a chariot as the general's vehicle in a triumph is such evidence. The war with Pyrrhus would provide a good loophole for the insertion of such a picturesque detail by some annalist, especially a Greek who knew his Xenophon.

3. Priscian XV, p. 69K: Livy in Book XIII: " We should have kept out of public life."

[From Book XIV]

4. See below, fr. 81.

Liber XVI?

5. Servius ad Vergil. *Aen.* I. 343: Sichaeus Sicharbas dictus est; Belus, Didonis pater, Methres; Carthago a Cartha, ut lectum est; quod invenitur in historia Poenorum et in Livio.

6. Servius ad Vergil. *Aen.* I. 366: Carthago est lingua Poenorum nova civitas, ut docet Livius.

7. Servius ad Vergil. *Aen.* I. 738: Bitias classis Punicae fuit praefectus, ut docet Livius.

Liber XVII

8. Priscian XIV, p. 44K: "Pridie Nonas, Pridie Idus," Livius ab urbe condita XVII.

Liber XVIII

9. Charisius, p. 95K: Imberbi autem dicuntur, non imberbes. Sic enim et Varro de actionibus scenicis V, "imberbi iuvenes"; sed et Cicero "imberbum perduxit," non imberbem, et Kalendis Ianuariis de

From Book XVI?

5. Servius, note on *Aeneid* I. 343: Sichaeus is called Sicharbal; Belus, the father of Dido, Methres; Carthage was named from Cartha, as the name is given. This information is found in the history of the Carthaginians, and in Livy.

For the name which Vergil changed, presumably for metrical reasons, to Sichaeus, cf. Justinus XVIII. 4. 5, who draws on Timaeus, cf. *F.H.G.* I. 197, fr. 23. The city after which Carthage is supposed to have been named (but see below, fr. 6) is called Cartha in Servius, *Aeneid* IV. 670, Carthada in Solinus xxvii. 10. *Summary* XVI mentions the founding of Carthage.

6. Servius, note on *Aeneid* I. 366: "Carthage" means "Newtown" in the Carthaginian language, as Livy informs us.

This is one ancient etymology confirmed by modern scholars.

7. Servius, note on *Aeneid* I. 738: Bitias was the admiral of the Carthaginian fleet, as Livy informs us.

From Book XVII

8. Priscian XIV, p. 44K: "The day before the Nones; the day before the Ides"—Livy, *From the Founding of the City*, Book XVII.

From Book XVIII

9. Charisius, p. 95K: Moreover, one speaks of "imberbi," not "imberbes." For so says not only Varro in the fifth book of his *On Theatrical Performances*: "imberbi iuvenes" (beardless youths); but Cicero as well says "imberbum perduxit" (he induced the beardless boy), not "imberbem," and in his speech of January first *On the Agrarian Law*, uses "imberba

lege agraria, " imberba iuventute." Titus Livius autem XVIII imberbes vulgariter.[1] Beda, *de orthographia*, p. 276K: Titus Livius autem " imberbis " singulariter. Anon. ap. Barth, *Adversaria* XXXVII. 14: Varro " imberbi iuvenes "; ita et Cicero; sed contra Titus Livius.

10. Valerius Maximus I. 8, ext. 19: Serpentis quoque a T. Livio curiose pariter ac facunde relatae fiat mentio. Is enim ait in Africa apud Bagradam flumen tantae magnitudinis anguem fuisse ut Atilii Reguli exercitum usu amnis prohiberet; multisque militibus ingenti ore correptis, compluribus caudae voluminibus elisis, cum telorum iactu perforari nequiret, ad ultimum ballistarum tormentis undique petitam silicum crebris et ponderosis verberibus procubuisse, omnibusque et cohortibus et legionibus ipsa Carthagine visam terribiliorem. Atque etiam cruore suo gurgitibus imbutis, corporisque iacentis pestifero afflatu vicina regione polluta, Romana inde summovisse castra. Dicit etiam beluae corium centum viginti pedum in urbem missum.

[1] *ita* N: licet libius inberbis vulgariter dixerit p: Historiarum XVIII *ed. prin.*: imberbis singulariter *Keil*: imberbes singulariter, imberbi vulgariter *Putsch.*

iuventute' (beardless young men). But Titus Livius in his eighteenth Book uses " imberbes " commonly. Beda, *On Orthography*, p. 276K: Titus Livius, however, uses " imberbis " in the singular. Unknown author, quoted by C. von Barth, *Adversaria*, XXXVII. 14: Varro uses " imberbi iuvenes," so does Cicero; but Titus Livius does the opposite.

The text of Charisius is somewhat uncertain, see the critical note, but the general, and somewhat minor, point that Livy treats *imberbis* as a third-declension word seems clear. No context is extant for Cicero's words from *de Lege Agraria* I. fr. 1.

10. Valerius Maximus, I. viii. ext. 19: Let me mention also the serpent described by Titus Livius no less exactly than eloquently. For Livy says that in Africa at the Bagradas River, there was a snake of such size that it kept the army of Atilius Regulus from using the river. It caught many of the soldiers in its huge jaws, and crushed large numbers of them in the coils of its tail. Hurled missiles could not penetrate its skin, but at last when it was attacked on all sides with missiles from the catapults, it succumbed to the continuous heavy blows of the stones. Both legions and auxiliary troops without exception regarded it as more to be feared than Carthage itself. Even after death the pools were stained with its blood, and the area round about was defiled with the poisonous stench of the exposed body, till it drove the Roman camp away from there. Livy also says that the monster's skin, measuring one hundred and twenty feet, was sent to Rome.

Liber XIX

11. Censorinus, *de Die Natali*, xvii. 10: Tertii ludi (saeculares) fuerunt, Antiate Livioque auctoribus, P. Claudio Pulchro C. Iunio Pullo consulibus.

12. Servius ad Vergil. *Aen.* VI. 198: Est in Livio quod, cum quidam cupidus belli gerendi a tribuno plebis arceretur ne iret, pullos iussit adferri. Qui cum missas non ederent fruges, irridens consul augurium ait, " Vel bibant "; et eos in Tiberim praecipitavit. Inde navibus victor revertens ad Africam in mari cum omnibus quos ducebat exstinctus est.

Liber XX

12a. Scholium in codicem Parisiensem Latinum 3858 = Krueger-Mommsen, *Hermes* IV. (1870) 371–6 = Mueller, fr. 12: Livius libro vicesimo: P. Cloelius [1] patricius primus adversus veterem morem intra septimum cognationis gradum duxit uxorem. Ob hoc M. Rutilius plebeius sponsam sibi praeripi novo exemplo nuptiarum dicens seditionem populi concitavit, adeo ut patres territi in Capitolium perfugerent.

[1] Cloelius *Krueger*: Celius MS.

From Book XIX

11. Censorinus, *On the Birthday*, xvii. 10: The third Festival of the Age occurred, as (Valerius) Antias and Livy tell us, in the consulship of Publius Claudius Pulcher and Gaius Junius Pullus.

12. Servius, note on *Aeneid* VI. 198: The story is told in Livy that when a certain consul who was anxious to conduct a campaign was prevented from departing by a tribune of the commons, the consul ordered the chickens to be brought. When these failed to eat the grain scattered before them, the consul, mocking the omen, said, " Let them drink, then ", and flung them into the Tiber. After that as he was triumphantly returning in his fleet to Africa he lost his life at sea, along with all his men.

The year was 249 B.C. *Summary* XIX identifies the omen-defying consul as the Claudius of this year, but makes his fate less directly a vindication of the omen. Cf. also XXII. xlii. 9; *Summary* XLIX, p. 31 and note 2; and especially Polybius I. xlix. 3–li. 12.

From Book XX

12a. Note in margin of Paris Latin MS. 3858: Livy in Book XX: Publius Cloelius, a patrician, was the first to go against the ancient custom by marrying a wife within the seventh degree of relationship. On this account, Marcus Rutilius, a plebeian, complained that his betrothed was taken from him by an unprecedented sort of marriage; he stirred up a riot of the people so severe that the senators in terror took refuge on the Capitol.

The rule of marriage here recorded forbade marriage between second cousins, or those more closely related. Nothing further is known about this incident.

12b. Servius ad Vergil. *Aeneid.* VI. 860 = Mueller, fr. 13: varie de hoc loco tractant commentatores, Numae legis immemores, cuius facit mentionem et Livius.

Liber XLIX

13. Censorinus, *de Die Natali*, xvii. 11: De quartorum ludorum (saecularium) anno triplex opinio est. Antias enim et Varro et Livius relatos esse prodiderunt L. Marcio Censorino M'. Manlio consulibus, post Romam conditam anno sexcentesimo quinto.

Liber LVI

14. Priscian XVIII, p. 344K: Livius LVI ab urbe condita: Q.[1] Pompeium morbum excusasse ferunt, ne cum interesset deditioni animos Numantinorum irritaret.

[1] Q. *Hertz*: Qui MS.

12b. Servius on Vergil, *Aeneid* VI. 860: Commentators advance various views on this line, forgetting the law of Numa, of which Livy also makes mention.

Servius quotes this law as decreeing that the first *spolia opima* (spoils taken by a Roman commander from an enemy commander) were to be dedicated to Jupiter Feretrius (as done by Romulus, cf. Livy I. x. 4–7), the second to Mars (as done by Cossus, cf. IV. xx. 5–11), and the third to Quirinus (as done by Marcellus). Since this law is not mentioned in the earlier passages, it must have appeared in the account of Marcellus' feat, cf. *Summary* XX.

From Book XLIX

13. Censorinus, *On the Birthday*, xvii. 11: As to the fourth Festival of the Age, three opinions are held. For (Valerius) Antias, Varro, and Livy have stated that the festival was revived in the consulship of Lucius Marcius Censorinus and Manius Manlius, in the six hundred and fifth year after the founding of Rome.

Cf. *Summaries* XLIX, pp. 23 and 31, and the note, p. 31, note 2, on variations in the reckoning as to the founding of Rome. The year was 149 B.C.

From Book LVI

14. Priscian XVIII, p. 344K: Livy, *From the Founding of the City*, Book LVI: "They relate that Quintus Pompeius made illness his excuse, so that he might not inflame the spirits of the Numantines by being present at the surrender."

This evidently was the Pompeius who had made a treaty with the Numantines that was repudiated by Rome, cf. *Summary* LIV. He returned to Spain as *legatus* in 136 B.C.; cf. Valerius Maximus III. vii. 5.

Liber LXXVII

15. Plutarch, *Sulla* vi: Καὶ παρελθὼν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ὕπατος μὲν ἀποδείκνυται μετὰ Κοΐντου Πομπηΐου, πεντήκοντα ἔτη γεγονώς, γαμεῖ δὲ γάμον ἐνδοξότατον Καικιλίαν τὴν Μετέλλου θυγατέρα τοῦ ἀρχιερέως· Ἐφ' ᾧ πολλὰ μὲν εἰς αὐτὸν ᾖδον οἱ δημοτικοί, πολλοὶ δὲ τῶν πρώτων ἐνεμέσων, οὐκ ἄξιον ἡγούμενοι τῆς γυναικὸς ὃν ἄξιον ὑπατείας ἔκριναν, ὥς φησιν ὁ Τίτος.

15a. Suidas, *s.v.* Σύλλας: ὅτι ἐπὶ Σύλλα τοῦ ὑπάτου ὁ ἐμφύλιος Ρωμαίων ἀνήφθη πόλεμος. ἐπισημῆναι δὲ τὴν τῶν μελλόντων κακῶν φορὰν Λίβιός φησι καὶ Διόδωρος. ἐξ ἀνεφέλου τοῦ ἀέρος καὶ αἰθρίας πολλῆς ἦχον ἀκουσθῆναι σάλπιγγος ὀξὺν ἀποτεινούσης καὶ θρηνώδη φθόγγον. καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀκούσαντας ἅπαντας ἔκφρονας ὑπὸ δέους γενέσθαι, τοὺς δὲ Τυρρηνῶν μάντεις μεταβολὴν τοῦ γένους καὶ μετακόσμησιν ἀποφήνασθαι σημαίνειν τὸ τέρας. εἶναι μὲν γὰρ ἀνθρώπων η΄ γένη, διαφέροντα τοῖς βίοις καὶ τοῖς ἤθεσιν ἀλλήλων· ἑκάστῳ δὲ ἀφωρίσθαι χρόνον ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ, συμπεραινόμενον ἐνιαυτοῦ μεγάλου περιόδῳ. τῆς γοῦν προτέρας περιόδου τελευτώσης καὶ ἑτέρας ἐνισταμένης κινεῖσθαί τι σημεῖον ἐκ γῆς ἢ οὐρανοῦ θαυμάσιον, ᾧ δῆλον εὐθὺς τοῖς τὰ τοιαῦτα σοφοῖς γίνεσθαι ὅτι καὶ

From Book LXXVII

15. Plutarch, *Sulla* vi: When he (Sulla) entered the city, he was declared consul together with Quintus Pompeius, Sulla being at the age of fifty, and he made a very distinguished marriage with Caecilia, the daughter of Metellus, the chief pontiff. On account of this, the popular party composed many lampoons against him, and many of the leading citizens were indignant, considering that the man whom they had judged worthy of the consulship was not worthy of the lady, as Titus puts it.

88 B.C.; this was Sulla's fourth marriage, and he divorced Cloelia to make it possible, which may have had something to do with the objections felt by some senators; Caecilia Metella now married for the second time.

15a. Suidas, article "Sulla": In Sulla's consulship, the Roman civil war broke out. Livy and Diodorus say that there were portents of the harvest of evils to come. From cloudless air and a wide expanse of clear sky, the blast of a trumpet was heard, uttering a shrill and lamentable sound. Those who heard it were one and all beside themselves with fear. But the Etruscan soothsayers pronounced that the portent indicated a change of the race and a new era. For, they said, there are eight races of men, differing in their modes of life and their characters from each other. An epoch has been assigned to each race by God, ending with the completion of a cycle of the Great Year. At any rate, as the former cycle ends and another sets in, some miraculous sign from earth or heaven is sent forth, from which it becomes clear to those expert in these matters that men have been

τρόποις ἄλλοις καὶ βίοις ἄνθρωποι χρώμενοι γεγόνασι, καὶ θεοῖς ἧττον τῶν προτέρων μέλονται.

16. Augustine, *de Civitate Dei* II. xxiv: Sulla cum primum ad urbem contra Marium castra movisset, adeo laeta exta immolanti fuisse scribit Livius, ut custodiri se Postumius haruspex voluerit, capitis supplicium subiturus nisi ea quae in animo Sulla haberet diis iuvantibus implevisset.

Liber LXXXIII

17. Augustine, *de Civitate Dei* III. vii: Eversis quippe et incensis omnibus cum oppido simulacris solum Minervae simulacrum sub tanta ruina templi illius, ut scribit Livius, integrum stetisse perhibetur.

Liber XCI

18. *Fragmentum ex codice Vaticano*: Nocte[1] tamen insequenti ipso pervigilante in eodem loco alia excitata turris prima luce miraculo hostibus fuit.

Nocte *add. Iuvenatius*: *om.* MS.

born whose ways and manner of life are different, and for whom the gods care less than for the former race.

The whole passage is given as a quotation from the authors cited. It occurs almost word for word in Plutarch's *Sulla* vii. 3–4, but Plutarch allows for a change to a more godly race, as well as the Hesiodic deterioration which stands alone in Suidas. In accordance with Boissevain, Cassius Dio, I, p. cxxi, I do not regard this passage as a fragment of Dio, as Hertz places it.

16. Augustine, *City of God* II. xxiv: When Sulla had first advanced toward Rome against Marius, the entrails as he sacrificed portended such good fortune, so Livy writes, that Postumius the soothsayer offered himself as a prisoner doomed to suffer death if Sulla, with the aid of the gods, did not wholly accomplish what he purposed.

Cf. Plutarch, *Sulla* ix. 3. *Summary* LXXVII includes Sulla's march, but not this incident.

From Book LXXXIII

17. Augustine *City of God*, III. vii: For, if you please, when all the idols were overthrown and burned along with the city, the image of Minerva alone is said to have stood intact amid the utter destruction of her temple, so Livy writes.

The reference is to the sack of Troy by Fimbria, cf. *Summary* LXXXIII; Obsequens 56b.

From Book XCI

18. *A fragment from a Vatican MS*: However, during the following night, while Sertorius himself kept watch, another tower was erected on the same spot, and at dawn struck the enemy with wonder.

Simul et oppidi turris quae maximum propugnaculum fuerat, subrutis fundamentis, dehiscere ingentibus rimis et tum conflagrare immisso facium [1] igni coepit; incendiique simul et ruinae metu territi Contrebienses de muro trepidi refugerunt; et ut legati mitterentur ad dedendam urbem ab universa multitudine conclamatum est. Eadem virtus quae irritantes oppugnaverat victorem placabiliorem fecit. Obsidibus acceptis pecuniae modicam exegit summam armaque omnia ademit. Transfugas liberos vivos ad se adduci iussit; fugitivos, quorum maior multitudo erat, ipsis imperavit ut interficerent. Iugulatos de muro deiecerunt.

Cum magna iactura militum quattuor et quadraginta diebus Contrebia expugnata, relictoque ibi L. Insteio cum valido praesidio,[2] ipse ad Hiberum flumen copias adduxit. Ibi hibernaculis secundum oppidum quod Castra Aelia vocatur aedificatis ipse in castris manebat; interdiu conventum sociarum civitatium in oppido agebat. Arma ut fierent pro copiis cuiusque populi per totam provinciam edixerat; quibus inspectis referre cetera arma milites iussit, quae aut itineribus crebris aut oppugnationibus et proeliis inutilia [3] facta erant, novaque viris per centuriones divisit. Equitatum quoque novis instruxit armis, vestimentaque praeparata ante divisa, et

[1] tum conflagrare immisso facium *post alios Weissenborn* tu . . . o . . . um MS: tugurium conflagrare correptum *Niebuhr.*

[2] cum valido (*sive* modico) praesidio *add. Kreyssig* : *om.* MS.

[3] et proeliis inutilia *add. Niebuhr* : *om.* MS.

At the same time, the tower which was the city's chief bulwark began to gape with great cracks as its foundations were undermined, and then was set on fire as blazing torches were thrown in. Terror-stricken by the threat of fire and collapse together, the people of Contrebia in panic fled back from the wall, and the whole crowd set up a shout that envoys should be sent to surrender the city. That same valour which had caused them to attack those who challenged them made the conqueror the readier to give terms. When he had received hostages, he exacted a moderate sum of money, and deprived them of all their weapons. He ordered the free deserters to be brought to him alive; the runaway slaves, whose number was far greater, he ordered the townspeople themselves to kill. The slaves' throats were cut, and they were thrown from the wall.

Contrebia was reduced after forty-four days with a large loss of soldiers. Sertorius left Lucius Insteius in the town with a strong garrison, and led his own force to the Ebro River. There he constructed winter quarters by the town called Camp Aelia, and remained there with his forces; by day he held a conference in the town of the cities allied with him. He issued an order that throughout the province arms should be manufactured according to the capacities of the several peoples. After he had inspected the new weapons, he ordered his soldiers to turn in the arms they had which had become unserviceable either because of the frequent marches or because of sieges and battles. He distributed the new weapons to his men through their centurions, equipped his cavalry also with new arms, distributed clothing which had been previously prepared, and issued pay.

stipendium datum. Fabros cura conquisitos undique exciverat quibus officina publica instituta uteretur,[1] ratione inita quid in singulos dies effici possit. Itaque omnia simul instrumenta belli parabantur; neque materia artificibus praeparatis ante omnibus enixo civitatium studio,[2] nec suo quisque operi artifex deerat.

Convocatis deinde omnium populorum legationibus et civitatium, gratias egit quod quae imperata essent in pedestres copias praestitissent[3]; quas ipse res in defendendis sociis,[4] quasque in oppugnandis urbibus hostium gessisset exposuit et ad reliqua belli cohortatus est paucis edoctos quantum Hispaniae provinciae interesset suos partes superiores esse. Dimisso deinde conventu, iussisque omnibus bono animo esse atque in civitates redire[5] suas, principio veris M. Perpernam cum viginti milibus peditum, equitibus mille quingentis, in Ilercaonum gentem misit ad tuendam regionis eius maritimam oram, datis praeceptis quibus itineribus duceret ad defendendas socias urbes, quas Pompeius oppugnaret, quibusque ipsum agmen Pompei ex insidiis adgrederetur.

Eodem tempore et ad Herennuleium, qui in isdem locis erat, litteras misit et in alteram provinciam ad L. Hirtuleium, praecipiens quem ad modum bellum

[1] instituta uteretur *add. edd.*: *om.* MS.
[2] enixo civitatium studio *Niebuhr*: nixo . . . undio MS.
[3] in pedestres copias praestitissent *Niebuhr*: . ede . . res . . . sti . . . MS.
[4] in defendendis sociis *add. Niebuhr*: *om.* MS.
[5] bono animo esse atque . . redire *add. Niebuhr*: *om.* MS.

He diligently searched out smiths from all about, and brought them in for the service of the military workshop which he had set up, after drawing up a schedule of what could be produced day by day. And so all the sinews of war were being made ready at the same time; there was no lack of materials for the artisans who were supplied first of all by the strenuous zeal of the cities, nor was any sort of artisan lacking for his peculiar task.

He then called together embassies from all the tribes and cities, and presented his thanks because they had furnished the supplies for the infantry forces which had been demanded. He laid before them his achievements in defending his allies and in storming cities of his enemies, and encouraged them to continue in the war after a brief explanation of the advantages to the province of Spain if his side had the upper hand. He thereupon dismissed the gathering, bidding them all be of good cheer and return to their states.

As spring opened he sent Marcus Perperna with twenty thousand infantry and fifteen hundred cavalry to the tribe of Ilercaones to defend the seacoast of that region; he gave Perperna instructions as to the routes he was to use in coming to the rescue of allied cities which Pompey would attack, as well as those routes from which he was to attack Pompey's own column from ambush.

At the same time he also sent dispatches to Herennuleius,[1] who was in the same region, as well as to Lucius Hirtuleius in the other province, instructing

[1] The name is usually given as Herennius, cf. Plutarch, *Pompey* xviii. 3 and Sallust, *History* II. xcviii. 6, and has presumably been corrupted here by "Hirtuleius" below.

administrari vellet; ante omnia ut ita socias civitates tueretur, ne acie cum Metello dimicaret, cui nec auctoritate nec viribus par esset. Ne ipsi quidem consilium esse ducere adversus[1] Pompeium; neque in aciem descensurum eum credebat. Si traheretur bellum, hosti cum mare ab tergo, provinciasque omnes in potestate haberet, navibus undique commeatus venturos; ipsi autem, consumptis priore aestate quae praeparata fuissent, omnium rerum inopiam fore. Perpernam in maritimam regionem superpositum ut ea quae integra adhuc ab hoste sint, tueri posset et si qua occasio detur, incautos per tempus adgressurum.

Ipse cum suo exercitu in Berones et Autricones progredi statuit, a quibus saepe per hiemem, cum ab se oppugnarentur Celtiberae urbes, imploratam esse opem Pompei compererat missosque qui itinera exercitui Romano monstrarent; et ipsorum equitibus vexatos saepe milites suos, quocumque a castris per oppugnationem Contrebiae pabulandi aut frumentandi causa progrederentur.[2] Ausi tum quoque erant Arevacos in partes sollicitare.[3] Edito igitur exemplo[4] belli consilium se initurum utrum prius hostem, utram provinciam petat,[5] maritimamne oram ut Pompeium ab Ilercaonia et Contestania arceat,

[1] adversus *Niebuhr* : . . versus MS.
[2] progrederentur *add. Niebuhr* : *om.* MS.
[3] sollicitare *add. Niebuhr* : *om.* MS.
[4] igitur exemplo *add. Niebuhr* : *om.* MS.
[5] petat *add. Niebuhr* : *om.* MS.

them how he wanted the war to be managed, especially that Hirtuleius was to protect the allied cities in such a way as not to meet Metellus in battle, since he was no match for Metellus either in personal prestige or in military power. Sertorius said that he had no intention of meeting Pompey head on, nor did he believe that Pompey would offer battle. If the war were prolonged, the enemy would receive provisions by ship from all directions, since he had the sea at his back and all the provinces under his control. Sertorius, on the other hand, having used up during the previous summer the accumulation of supplies, would lack everything. Perperna, said Sertorius, had been given command in the seaward region so that he might be able to protect whatever was so far undamaged by the enemy, and might attack them when they were momentarily off their guard, if some opportunity presented itself.

Sertorius himself with his own forces decided to march against the Berones and Autricones, who had, as he had learned, frequently begged aid from Pompey during the winter, while Sertorius was assailing the Celtiberian cities. Moreover, these peoples had sent men to show the Roman army the roads, and with their cavalry had often harassed Sertorius' soldiers whenever during the siege of Contrebia they had gone out from camp to gather fodder or grain. At that time also these tribes had had the audacity to invite the Arevaci to change sides. He thought therefore that he would furnish a sample of his campaigning before deciding which enemy and which province to make for, and whether to turn to the sea coast, in order to keep Pompey away from Ilercaonia and Contestania, both of which tribes were Sertorius'

utraque socia gente, an ad Metellum et Lusitaniam se convertat.

Haec secum agitans Sertorius praeter Hiberum amnem per pacatos agros quietum exercitum sine ullius noxa duxit. Profectus inde in Bursaonum et Cascantinorum[1] et Graccuritanorum fines, evastatis omnibus proculcatisque segetibus, ad Calagurim Nasicam, sociorum urbem, venit; transgressusque amnem propinquum urbi ponte facto castra posuit. Postero die M. Marium quaestorem in Arevacos et Cerindones misit ad conscribendos ex iis gentibus milites, frumentumque inde Contrebiam, quae[2] Leucada appellatur, comportandum, praeter quam urbem opportunissimus ex Beronibus transitus erat, in quamcumque regionem ducere exercitum statuisset; et C. Insteium, praefectum equitum, Segoviam et in Vaccaeorum gentem ad equitum conquisitionem misit, iussum cum equitibus Contrebiae sese opperiri. Dimissis iis ipse profectus, per Vasconum agrum ducto exercitu, in confinio Beronum posuit castra. Postero die cum equitibus praegressus ad itinera exploranda, iusso pedite quadrato agmine sequi, ad Vareiam, validissimam regionis eius urbem, venit. Haud inopinantibus iis noctu advenerat. Undique equitibus et suae gentis et Autriconum.[3] . . .

[1] Cascantinorum *Iuvenatius*: Casuantinorum MS.
[2] quae *add. Niebuhr*: *om.* MS.
[3] Autriconum *edd.*: Autric . . . MS.

allies, or whether to turn against Metellus and Lusitania.

With these thoughts in mind, Sertorius led his army up the Ebro River through friendly territory in a peaceful and harmless fashion. He then advanced into the territory of the Bursaones, Cascantium, and Graccuris, ravaging everything and trampling the crops, and arrived at Calaguris Nasica, a town of his allies. He crossed the river near the city on a bridge which he had built and pitched camp. Next day he sent his quaestor Marcus Marius to the Arevaci and Cerindones to enroll soldiers from among those tribes, and to transport grain from there to the Contrebia which is called Leucada, past which city there was the most convenient passage out from the Berones, no matter to which region he might decide to lead his forces. He also sent Gaius Insteius, his cavalry commander, to Segovia and among the tribe of the Vaccaei to recruit cavalry, giving him orders to await him with the cavalry in Contrebia. After these officers had been sent off, Sertorius himself set out, led his army through the territory of the Vascones, and pitched camp on the border of the Berones. The next day he went in advance with cavalry to reconnoitre the roads, and ordered the infantry to follow in squared column; he reached Vareia, the strongest city of that region. His arrival by night was by no means unexpected by the Berones. From all about, cavalry both of their own tribe and of the Autricones . . .

The events described in this fragment took place in 77 and 76 B.C. Calaguris Nasica, the more westerly of the two towns named Calaguris, is mentioned in XXXIX. xxi. 8 and *Summary* XCIII. Sertorius' spring campaign was planned to eliminate

19. Frontinus, *Strategemata* II. v. 31: Hoc primum proelium inter Sertorium et Pompeium fuit. Decem milia hominum de Pompeii exercitu amissa et omnia impedimenta, Livius auctor est.

19a. Asconius in Cicero. *pro Cornelio* lix f. Clark = fr. 23 Mueller: Neque apud Sallustium neque apud Livium neque apud Fenestellam ullius alterius latae ab eo (C. Cotta) legis est mentio, praeter eam quam in consulatu tulit invita nobilitate, magno populi studio, ut iis qui tribuni plebis fuissent, alios quoque magistratus capere liceret.

Liber XCIV

20. Servius ad Vergil. *Aen.* IX. 715: Livius in libro nonagesimo quarto Inarimen in Maeoniae partibus esse dicit, ubi per quinquaginta millia terrae igni exustae sunt. Hoc etiam Homerum significasse vult.

the threat from disaffected tribes sandwiched in among his allies, and so to establish a solid base area in north central Spain. He moved westerly, near the north boundary of this area at the Pyrenees, and sent his officers to the south-west. Cf. *Summary* XCI.

19. Frontinus, *Stratagems* II. v. 31: This was the first battle between Sertorius and Pompey. Ten thousand persons and all the baggage were lost by Pompey's army, as Livy informs us.

19a. Asconius, note on Cicero, *pro Cornelio*: There is no reference, either in Sallust or in Livy or in Fenestella, to any law passed by him (Gaius Cotta) other than the one which he passed in his consulship over the opposition of the office-holding class, but with the eager support of the people, to the effect that those who had been tribunes of the commons should be allowed to hold other magistracies too.

This occurred in 75 B.C., and was Cotta's measure of conciliation to prevent further rioting over a scarcity of grain.

From Book XCIV

20. Servius, note on *Aeneid* IX. 715: In his ninety-fourth book, Livy says that Inarime is in a portion of Maeonia, where for fifty miles the countryside is scorched with fire. Livy's opinion is that Homer also meant this region.

Maeonia, synonymous with Lydia to the poets, meant north-east Lydia to the geographers, cf. Ptolemy V. ii. 16. In this area, along the Hermus River, Strabo (XIII. iv. 5 (626)) speaks of a region called Catacecaumene (" destroyed by fire ") which is no doubt the volcanic area Livy had in mind. The reference had some connection with the campaigns of Lucullus against Mithridates.

The ancient error by which Homer's *ein Arimois, Iliad* II. 783, (among the Arimi) became "Inarime" is well known. Vergil's Inarime was in the volcanic area near Naples.

Liber XCVII

21. Frontinus, *Strategemata* II. v. 34 : Triginta quinque milia armatorum (fugitivorum a Crasso devictorum) eo proelio interfecta cum ipsis ducibus (Casto et Gannico) Livius tradit, receptas quinque Romanorum aquilas, signa sex et viginti, multa spolia inter quae fasces cum securibus.

Liber XCVIII

22. Plutarch, *Lucullus* xxviii. 7 : Λιούϊος δ' εἴρηκεν, ὡς οὐδέποτε Ῥωμαῖοι πολεμίοις ἀποδέοντες τοσούτῳ πλήθει παρετάξαντο· σχεδὸν γὰρ οὐδ' εἰκοστὸν ἀλλ' ἔλαττον ἐγένοντο μέρος οἱ νικῶντες τῶν ἡσσημένων.

23. Plutarch, *Lucullus* xxxi. 8 : Φησὶ δὲ ὁ Λιούϊος ἐν μὲν τῇ προτέρα μάχῃ πλείονας, ἐν δὲ ταύτῃ γνωριμωτέρους πεσεῖν καὶ ληφθῆναι τῶν πολεμίων.

Liber XCIX

24. Servius, *ad Vergil. Aen.* III. 106 : Creta primo quidem centum habuit civitates, unde Hecatompolis

From Book XCVII

21. Frontinus, *Stratagems* II. v. 34 : Livy relates that thirty-five thousand armed men (of the escaped slaves conquered by Crassus) were killed in that battle along with their commanders (Castus and Gannicus). Five Roman eagles were recovered and twenty-six military standards, and much booty, among which were *fasces* with axes.

This victory of Crassus is mentioned in *Summary* XCVII.

From Book XCVIII

22. Plutarch, *Lucullus* xxviii. 7 : Livy, moreover, has said that the Romans never entered a battle against foes so overwhelmingly superior in numbers; for, at a rough estimate, the victors were not even the twentieth part of the conquered, but rather less.

This refers to the battle for the relief of Tigranocerta, October 6, 69 B.C. The calculation of numbers may involve crediting the enemy with the total combined forces of Tigranes and Mithridates, though the latter was not present.

23. Plutarch, *Lucullus* xxxi. 8 : Livy says that in the former battle greater numbers of the enemy fell and were captured, but in this battle, higher-ranking persons.

The second battle was in 68 B.C., on the Arsanias River, as Lucullus was making for Artaxata. Cf. Dio XXXVI. v. f.

From Book XCIX

24. Servius, note on *Aeneid* III. 106 : In early times, indeed, Crete had a hundred city-states; on this account it was called Hecatompolis (a hundred cities).

dicta est; post viginti quattuor; inde, ut dicitur, duas, Gnosson et Hierapytnam, quamvis Livius plures a Metello expugnatas dicat.

Liber CII

25. Agroecius, *Ars de Orthographia*, p. 115K: Livius de morte Mithridatis: " quod cum diluisset."

26. Josephus, *Antiquities of the Jews* XIV. iv. 3: Καὶ γὰρ ἁλούσης τῆς πόλεως περὶ τρίτον μῆνα, τῇ τῆς νηστείας ἡμέρᾳ, κατὰ τὴν ἐννάτην καὶ ἑβδομηκοστὴν καὶ ἑκατοστὴν ὀλυμπιάδα ὑπατευόντων Γαΐου Ἀντωνίου καὶ Μάρκου Τουλλίου Κικέρωνος οἱ πολέμιοι μὲν εἰσπεσόντες ἔσφαττον τοὺς ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ, οἱ δὲ πρὸς ταῖς θυσίαις οὐδὲν ἧττον ἱερουργοῦντες διετέλουν, οὔτε ὑπὸ τοῦ φόβου τοῦ περὶ τῆς ψυχῆς, οὔτε ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν ἤδη φονευομένων ἀναγκασθέντες ἀποδρᾶναι, πᾶν δ' ὅτι δέοι παθεῖν τοῦτο παρ' αὐτοῖς ὑπομεῖναι τοῖς βωμοῖς κρεῖττον εἶναι νομίζοντες ἢ παρελθεῖν τι τῶν νομίμων, ὅτι δὲ οὐ λόγος ταῦτα μόνον ἐστὶν ἐγκώμιον ψευδοῦς εὐσεβείας ἐμφανίζων ἀλλ' ἀλήθεια, μαρτυροῦσι πάντες οἱ τὰς κατὰ Πομπήϊον πράξεις ἀναγράψαντες· ἐν οἷς καὶ Στράβων καὶ Νικόλαος καὶ πρὸς τούτοις Τίτος Λίβιος, ὁ τῆς Ῥωμαικῆς ἱστορίας συγγραφεύς.

Later, it had twenty-four, and later still, only two, Cnossus and Hierapytna, so we are told, although Livy says that Metellus stormed a larger number.

Some Roman lack of information, or a hyperbole, must be behind the alleged reduction of Cretan cities to two; references to a larger number are reasonably continuous.

From Book CII

25. Agroecius, *Skill in Spelling*, p. 115K: Livy on the death of Mithridates, " When he had washed this out."

26. Josephus, *Antiquities of the Jews* XIV. iv. 3: For when the city was taken during the third month, on the day of the fast, in the 179th Olympiad and the consulship of Gaius Antonius and Marcus Tullius Cicero, the enemy on breaking in went to cutting the throats of those in the temple. But those in charge of the sacrifices none the less continued their sacred service, and were not compelled to run away either by fear for their lives or by the multitude of those who were already being slaughtered. They deemed it better to await whatever suffering they must endure by the very altars, rather than to transgress any point of the law. That this is no mere story, parading praise of a fictitious piety, but rather the truth, is supported by the testimony of all who have recorded the achievements of Pompey. Among these are Strabo and Nicolaüs, and in addition Titus Livius, the author of the history of Rome.

The capture of Jerusalem is mentioned in *Summary* CII, together with the Catilinarian conspiracy. There is a brief allusion in Strabo XVI. ii. 40 (762). The " fast " was probably the sabbath, as interpreted by some Gentile, cf. Marcus *ad loc.* VII. 480 and 700–1. (L.C.L.).

26a. Scholium Bernense in Lucan. *Pharsalia* II. 593: Livius de Iudaeis: "Hierosolymis fanum cuius deorum sit non nominant, neque ullum ibi simulacrum est, neque enim esse dei figuram putant."

Liber CIII

27. Q. Serenus, *de Medicina* xxxix. 725–32:

Horrendus magis est, perimit qui corpora, carbo.
Urit hic inclusus, vitalia rumpit apertus;
Hunc veteres quondam variis pepulere medelis.
Tertia namque Titi simul et centesima Livi
Charta docet, ferro talem candente dolorem
Exsectum, aut poto raporum semine pulsum,
Infecti dicens vix septem posse diebus
Vitam produci, tanta est violentia morbi.

[Liber CIV]

28. *Cf. infra, fr.* 82.

Liber CV

29. Tacitus, *Agricola* x: Formam totius Britanniae Livius veterum, Fabius Rusticus recentium, eloquentissimi auctores, oblongae scutulae vel bipenni assimulavere.

30. Iordanes, *de Rebus Geticis* ii: Britanniae licet

26a. Note on Lucan, *Pharsalia* II. 593 (Usener, 85): Livy on the Jews: "As to the temple at Jerusalem, they do not say to which of the gods it belongs, nor is there any image there; for they believe that there is no such thing as a bodily form of a god."

From Book CIII

27. Quintus Serenus, *On Medicine* xxxix. 725–32: More to be dreaded is that which destroys bodies—the malignant tumour. This burns when enclosed, and when open, snaps the thread of life. This the ancients aforetime repulsed with various remedies. For the one hundred and third book of Titus Livy shows that this great misery has been cut out with the hot knife, or repelled by a draught of turnip seed; the book says that it is hardly possible to prolong life for seven days, once the victim is attacked, such is the violence of the disease.

The Serenus of this treatise is often identified with the younger Serenus Sammonicus, who lived about 200 A.D., was noted as a poet, and was interested in medicine, but the identification is not certain. Cf. also fr. 88.

[From Book CIV]

28. See below, fr. 82.

From Book CV

29. Tacitus, *Agricola* x: The shape of Britain as a whole has been compared to an oblong shield or a double-axe by Livy in earlier times, and by Fabius Rusticus more recently—both most eloquent authors.

30. Iordanes, *History of the Goths* ii: Although no one

magnitudinem olim nemo, ut refert Livius, circumvectus est, multis tamen data est varia opinio de ea loquendi.

Liber CIX

31. Orosius VII. 2: Septingentesimo condicionis suae anno quattuordecim vicos eius (Romae) incertum unde consurgens flamma consumpsit, nec umquam, ut ait Livius, maiore incendio vastata est, adeo ut post aliquot annos Caesar Augustus ad reparationem eorum quae tunc exusta erant magnam vim pecuniae ex aerario publico largitus sit.

32. Orosius VI. 15: Caesar Rubicone flumine transmeato mox ut Ariminum venit, quinque cohortes, quas tunc solas habebat, cum quibus, ut ait Livius, orbem terrarum adortus est, quid facto opus esset edocuit.

32a. Scholium Bernense in Lucan. *Pharsalia* III. 182: Livius in primo libro belli civilis ait: " nam Athenienses de tanta maritima gloria vix duas naves effecere."

32b. Scholium Bernense in Lucan. *Pharsalia* III. 59: Ut ait Livius, Marcum Catonem expulit provincia.

in early times, as Livy says, sailed around the whole extent of Britain, that did not prevent many people from delivering different opinions on the subject.

The author's name also appears as Iornandes in the MSS. *Summary* CV ends with mention of Caesar's campaign in Britain.

From Book CIX

31. Orosius VII. 2: In the seven-hundredth year of its existence, Rome had fourteen of its streets devastated by a fire of unknown origin, nor was it ever ravaged by a greater blaze, so Livy says. As a result, Caesar Augustus several years later donated a large sum of money from the public treasury to the rebuilding of the structures consumed at that time.

32. Orosius VI. 15: When Caesar had crossed the Rubicon, he presently came to Ariminum, and there explained his plan of action to the five cohorts which were all that he had at that time—with which, as Livy puts it, he assailed the whole world.

Cf. Caesar, *Civil War* I. vii f.; Caesar's force is usually referred to as one legion; whether the " five cohorts " is an estimate of actual strength present, or a piece of rhetoric without military foundation does not appear, but cf. *Civil War* I. xi. 4. William of Malmesbury, *Historia Novella* II § 478 Stubbs, follows Orosius.

32a. Note on Lucan, *Pharsalia* III. 182 (Usener, 100): In the first book on the civil war, Livy says: " for the Athenians barely mustered two ships as relics of their great reputation for sea-power."

32b. Note on Lucan, *Pharsalia* III. 59 (Usener, 92): As Livy says, he drove Marcus Cato from the province.

The reference is to Curio, cf. Caesar, *Civil War* I. xxx. 5; Plutarch, *Cato* liii; Appian, *Civil Wars* II. vi. 40 f.

Liber CX?

32c. Scholium Bernense in Lucan. *Pharsalia* IV. 354: Livius: " et duces sumus in bello inutiles,[1] per quos tibi licuit sine sanguine vincere. Quod Caesari pulcrum est, petimus: quibus armatis pepercisti, deditis consulas."

32d. Scholium Bernense in Lucan. *Pharsalia* V. 494: Livius de hoc: " veniant si modo mei sunt."

Liber CXI

33. Scholium ad Lucan. *Pharsalia* VII. 471: Ut ait Titus Livius, " Primus hostem percussit nuper pilo sumpto primo C. Crastinus."

33a. Scholium Bernense ad Lucan. *Pharsalia* VII. 470 (ed. Usener, p. 270):

De quo Titus Livius dixit tunc fuisse evocatum, proximo anno deduxisse primum pilum Gaium Crastinum qui a parte Caesaris primus lanceam misit.

34. Plutarch, *Caesar* xlvii: Ἐν δὲ Παταβίῳ Γάϊος Κορνήλιος, ἀνὴρ εὐδόκιμος ἐπὶ μαντικῇ, Λιβίου τοῦ συγγραφέως πολίτης καὶ γνώριμος, ἐτύγχανεν ἐπ' οἰωνοῖς καθήμενος ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν. Καὶ πρῶτον μὲν, ὡς Λίβιός φησι, τὸν καιρὸν ἔγνω τῆς μάχης,

[1] inutiles *H. J. Mueller*: milites MS: et duces ulli usui in bello milites *Usener*: ei denique fuimus in bello milites *Novák*.

[1] Apparently from a message of Caesar in Epirus to Antony in Italy, cf. Caesar, *Civil War* III. 25. 3.

From Book CX?

32c. Note on Lucan, *Pharsalia* IV. 354 (Usener, 132): Livy's words are: " and we are incompetent as commanders in war, since it is on our account that you were able to win without bloodshed. Our request redounds to Caesar's credit, for we ask that you make provision, after their surrender, for those whom you spared while they were still embattled."

This is presumably from a speech by Afranius at the final surrender in Spain, cf. Caesar, *Civil War* I. 72 and 84 f.

32d. Note on Lucan, *Pharsalia* V. 494 (Usener, 174): Livy's words on this subject are: " Let them come, if only they are my men."[1]

From Book CXI

33. Note on Lucan, *Pharsalia*, VII. 471: As Titus Livius says, " The first to strike the enemy was a man who had recently become a First Centurion, Gaius Crastinus."

33a. Note from a Berne MS. on Lucan, *Pharsalia* VII. 470: About him Titus Livius said that Gaius Crastinus, who was the first on Caesar's side to hurl a lance, was at that time a veteran recalled to service, and in the previous year had been First Centurion.

Cf. Caesar, *Civil War* III. xci, xcix. The second quotation clarifies the use of " recently " in the first.

34. Plutarch, *Caesar* xlvii: In Padua Gaius Cornelius, a man of high reputation for soothsaying, a fellow citizen and acquaintance of Livy the historian, happened to be watching the omens on that day. In the first place, as Livy tells, he recognized the

καὶ πρὸς τοὺς παρόντας εἶπεν, ὅτι καὶ δὴ περαίνεται τὸ χρῆμα, καὶ συνίασιν εἰς ἔργον οἱ ἄνδρες. Αὖθις δὲ πρὸς τῇ θέᾳ γενόμενος, καὶ τὰ σημεῖα κατιδὼν ἀνήλατο μετ' ἐνθουσιασμοῦ βοῶν, "Νικᾷς, ὦ Καῖσαρ." Ἐκπλαγέντων δὲ τῶν παρατυχόντων περιελὼν τὸν στέφανον ἀπὸ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἐνωμότως ἔφη, μὴ πρὶν ἐπιθήσεσθαι πάλιν ἢ τῇ τέχνῃ μαρτυρῆσαι τὸ ἔργον. Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὁ Λίβιος οὕτω γενέσθαι καταβεβαιοῦται.

34a. Scholium Bernense in Lucan. *Pharsalia* VII. 62: Titus Livius eum (Ciceronem) in Sicilia aegrum fuisse tradit eo tempore quo Pharsaliae pugnatum est et ibi eum accepisse litteras a victore Caesare, ut bono animo esset.

Liber CXII

35. Scholium in Cicero. *pro Ligario*, ed. Orelli-Baiter, p. 415: Interea, sicut dixit Livius, oppressus est Tubero et Pansa; fugerunt ad Pompeium cum quaererentur. Inter has moras supervenit Curio ad Africam.

36. *Cf. infra, fr.* 43a.

37. Priscian VI. 22, p. 213K: Inveni tamen apud Livium in CXII ab urbe condita in *d* desinens bar-

moment when the battle began, and said to the bystanders, "Now the affair is going forward, and the gentlemen are going into action." And later, turning to his observations and beholding the signs, he leaped up inspired, crying out, "Yours is the victory, Caesar." When the bystanders were dumbfounded, he removed the wreath from his head and said with an oath that he would not replace it until the fact bore witness to his art. These things Livy definitely affirms to have taken place in this manner.

This striking story also appears in Dio XLI. lxi. 5; Obsequens 65a; Gellius XV. xviii. 1–3.

34a. Note on Lucan, *Pharsalia* VII. 62 (Usener, 223): Titus Livius says that he (Cicero) was in Sicily, because of ill-health, at the time when the battle at Pharsalus took place, and that he received there a letter from the victorious Caesar, bidding him be of good cheer.

The reference to Sicily is a mistake, mechanical or otherwise, of the commentary on Lucan, cf. *Summary* CXI ("Cicero stayed in the camp"—also inexact); Cicero, *On Divination* I. 68.

From Book CXII

35. Note on Cicero, *For Ligarius*, ed. Orelli-Baiter, p. 415: Meantime, as Livy tells us, Tubero and Pansa were suppressed; they fled to Pompey while search was being made for them. During these delays Curio appeared on the scene in Africa.

Cf. xxi in the oration itself; also Caesar, *Civil War* I. xxxi.

36. See below, 43a.

37. Priscian VI. 22, p. 213K: However, I have found in Livy in Book CXII of *From the Founding of the City* a foreign name ending in *d*, the name of the king of

barum nomen regis Maurorum Bogud, cuius genetivum secundum tertiam declinationem Bogudis protulit, ut: Castra quoque diversis partibus Cassius et Bogud adorti haud multum abfuere quin opera perrumperent.

38. *ibid.*: Quo tempore firmandi regni Bogudis causa exercitum in Africam velociter traicere conatus sit.

39. *ibid.*: Cassius gessisset cum Trebonio bellum, si Bogudem trahere in societatem furoris potuisset.

39a. Scholium Bernense in Lucan. *Pharsalia* VIII. 91: Hunc locum poeta de Livio tulit, qui Corneliam dicit dixisse Pompeio: " vicit, Magne, felicitatem tuam mea fortuna. Quid enim ex funesta Crassorum domo recipiebas nisi ut minueretur magnitudo tua? "

40. Scholium ad Lucan. *Pharsalia* X. 471: Legati, quos rex miserat, duo fuerunt, quorum unus erat Dioscorides et alter Serapio. Ex his unus occisus est, ut Titus Livius meminit libro quarto (belli civilis).

the Moors, Bogud, of which Livy gives a genitive of the third declension, Bogudis, as follows: Cassius and Bogud also attacked the camp from different directions and were not far from breaking through the entrenchments.

In 47 B.C., Cassius Longinus, a Caesarian propraetor in Spain, quarrelled with his quaestor, Marcellus, who seceded with part of the troops. Cassius summoned Bogud to help him overcome Marcellus, who had succeeded in shutting Cassius up in the town of Ulia. The strife was finally settled by the armed intervention of the governor of Nearer Spain, Lepidus. Cf. [Caesar], *Alexandrine War* lxii–lxiv.; below, fr. 43*a*. For previous events, cf. *Summary* CXI.

38. *ibid.* At the time when he attempted to transport an army rapidly to Africa for the purpose of strengthening Bogud on his throne.

39. *ibid.* Cassius would have waged war against Trebonius, if he had been able to induce Bogud to be his partner in madness.

Trebonius was sent to Spain in 46 B.C. by Caesar to supersede Cassius and quiet the disaffection he had caused, cf. *Alexandrine War* lxiv. 2; Dio XLIII. xxix. 1.

39a. Note on Lucan, *Pharsalia* VIII. 91 (Usener, 259): The poet took this passage from Livy, who relates that Cornelia said to Pompey, " My luck, Magnus, has overthrown your good-fortune. For what did you receive from the ill-starred house of Crassus except the diminution of your greatness?"

40. Note on Lucan, *Pharsalia* X. 471: The envoys whom the king had sent were two, one of them being Dioscorides and the other Serapion. One of these was killed, as Titus Livius mentions in the fourth book (of the civil war).

Cf. Caesar, *Civil War* III. cix.

41. *ibid.* X. 521: Arsinoe soror Ptolemaei fuit; hanc Ganymedes quidam spado puellae acceptissimus in castra Achillae perduxit, cuius iussu Achilles occisus est et exercitui praepositus Ganymedes. Hunc postea Caesar victis Aegyptiis in triumpho duxit, ut meminit Livius in libro quarto belli civilis.

42. Seneca, *de Tranquillitate Animi* ix: Quadringenta millia librorum Alexandriae arserunt, pulcherrimum regiae opulentiae monumentum. Alius laudaverit, sicut Livius, qui elegantiae regum curaeque egregium id opus ait fuisse.

Liber CXIII

43. Priscian VI. 22, p. 214K: Idem in CXIII oppidi nomen in *d* desinens per accusativum casum neutro genere protulit (Livius): et ipse circa Pulpud oram tuebatur.

Liber CXIV

43a. Priscian V. 10, p. 146K: et Bogud, nomen barbarum, quod Livius in centesimo quarto decimo declinavit Bogudis.

41. Note to Lucan, *Pharsalia* X. 521: Arsinoe was the sister of Ptolemy; she was brought over to the camp of Achillas by a certain eunuch, Ganymede, who was much favoured by the girl. On her order Achillas was killed and Ganymede put in charge of the army. Later on, he was led in Caesar's triumph after the conquest of Egypt, as Livy mentions in the fourth book of the civil war.

Cf. Caesar, *Civil War* III. cxii; *Alexandrine War* iv, xxiii; Dio XLII. xxxix f.; xlii; XLIII. xix.

42. Seneca, *On Tranquillity of Mind* ix: Four hundred thousand volumes were burned at Alexandria, a most handsome memorial to royal wealth. Let someone else praise such a collection, as Livy does, who says that this was a distinguished achievement of the good taste and solicitude of kings.

This appears to be an early example of the false equation of the burning of some books during Caesar's campaign—with the total destruction of the great Library.

From Book CXIII

43. Priscian VI. 22, p. 214K: Likewise in Book CXIII (Livy) exhibited the name of a town ending in *d* in the accusative case and neuter gender: " And he himself was guarding the shore in the vicinity of Pulpud."

In Keil, Supplement p. 123, the name appears as Pudpud. Weissenborn gives Palpud. It is not mentioned elsewhere.

From Book CXIV

43a. Priscian V. 10, p. 146K: Also Bogud, a foreign name, which Livy in Book CXIV declined *Bogudis*.

44. *Cf. infra, fr.* 83.

45. Jerome, *in Hoseam*, Migne 25 (= Jerome 6). 861: Optarem mihi contingere quod T. Livius scribit de Catone, cuius gloriae neque profuit quisquam laudando nec vituperando quisquam nocuit, cum utrumque summis praediti fecerint ingeniis. Significat autem M. Ciceronem et C. Caesarem, quorum alter laudes, alter vituperationes supra dicti scripsit viri.

Liber CXVI

46. Plutarch, *Caesar* lxiii: Ἦν γάρ τι τῇ Καίσαρος οἰκίᾳ προσκείμενον, οἷον ἐπὶ κόσμῳ καὶ σεμνότητι τῆς βουλῆς ψηφισαμένης ἀκρωτήριον, ὡς Λίβιος ἱστορεῖ. Τοῦτο ὄναρ ἡ Καλπουρνία θεασαμένη καταρρηγνύμενον ἔδοξε ποτνιᾶσθαι καὶ δακρύειν· ἡμέρας δ' οὖν γενομένης ἐδεῖτο τοῦ Καίσαρος, εἰ μὲν οἷόν τε, μὴ προελθεῖν, ἀλλ' ἀναβαλέσθαι τὴν σύγκλητον.

47. Servius ad Vergil. *Georg.* I. 472: Malum omen est quotiens Aetna, mons Siciliae, non fumum sed flammarum egerit globos; et, ut dicit Livius, tanta flamma ante mortem Caesaris ex Aetna monte defluxit ut non tantum vicinae urbes, sed etiam Regina civitas, quae multo spatio ab ea distat, adflaretur.

Bogud was a chieftain of Mauretania, recognized as king by Caesar, together with Bocchus, perhaps his brother, cf. frs. 37–9 above. Keil, Supplement p. 123, has a reference to the name as a type of ending.

44. See below, fr. 83.

45. Jerome, *Commentary on Hosea* II, preface: I should choose to have it true of me, as Titus Livius writes of Cato, that his fame was neither helped by anyone's praise, nor hurt by anyone's censure, although the authors of both were men endowed with the highest abilities. He means, of course, Marcus Cicero and Gaius Caesar, the former of whom wrote a eulogy, the latter an excoriation, of the aforesaid gentleman.

From Book CXVI

46. Plutarch, *Caesar* lxiii: For there was a gable ornament attached to Caesar's house by vote of the senate as a decoration and mark of dignity, as Livy relates. Calpurnia in a dream saw this shattered, and thought that she called on the gods and wept; so when day broke, she begged Caesar, if it was possible, not to go out, but to postpone the session of the senate.

Cf. Obsequens 67.

47. Servius, note on *Georgics* I. 472: It has been an evil omen whenever Etna, the Sicilian mountain, has ejected balls of fire instead of smoke. As Livy tells us, before the death of Caesar such flame flowed from Mount Etna that not only the neighbouring cities, but even the town of Regium, which is a long distance from the mountain, felt the blast.

For an eruption of Etna as a bad omen, cf. Obsequens 26, 29, and 32.

48. Seneca, *Naturales Quaestiones* V. 18: Quod de Caesare maiore vulgo dictitatum est et a T. Livio positum, in incerto esse utrum illum magis nasci reipublicae profuerit an non nasci, dici etiam de ventis potest.

Liber CXVIII

49. Priscian IX. 40. p. 477K: Livius in CXVIII: Adversus interfectores C. Caesaris ultoribus manum comparans concibat.

Liber CXX

50. M. Seneca, *Suasoriae* VI. 17 (VII): Titi Livi: M. Cicero sub adventum triumvirorum cesserat urbe, pro certo habens id quod erat, non magis Antonio eripi se quam Caesari Cassium et Brutum posse. Primo in Tusculanum fugit, inde transversis itineribus in Formianum, ut ab Caieta navim conscensurus. proficiscitur. Unde aliquotiens in altum provectum cum modo venti adversi retulissent, modo ipse iactationem navis caeco volvente fluctu pati non posset, taedium tandem eum et fugae et vitae cepit; regressusque ad superiorem villam quae paulo plus mille

48. Seneca, *Investigations into Nature* V. xviii. 4: What has been commonly said about the elder Caesar, and is recorded by Titus Livius—that it cannot be decided whether it was better for the commonwealth for him to be born, or never to be born—this can also be said about the winds.

Cf. *Summary* CXVI for the death of Caesar.

From Book CXVIII

49. Priscian IX. 40, p. 477K: Livy in Book CXVIII: "He was causing a stir by raising a force for the avengers against the assassins of Gaius Caesar."

Cf. *Summary* CXVIII and *Res Gestae Divi Augusti* 1.

From Book CXX

50. Seneca the Rhetorician, *Suasoriae* VI. 17 (VII): From Titus Livius: Marcus Cicero had taken his departure from the city shortly before the arrival of the Board of Three; he was convinced of what was actually the case, that he could no more be saved from the clutches of Antony than Cassius and Brutus could be from those of Caesar. First he fled to his Tusculan estate, thence he set out by cross-country routes for his place at Formiae, for he planned to take ship at Caieta. From that port he put out to sea several times, but sometimes contrary winds drove him back, and again he was unable to bear the tossing of the ship, as a ground swell heaved it. Finally a weariness both of flight and of life came upon him; he went back to his upper country house, which is a little more than a mile from the sea, and said,

passibus a mari abest, " Moriar," inquit, " in patria saepe servata." Satis constat servos fortiter fideliterque paratos fuisse ad dimicandum; ipsum deponi lecticam et quietos pati quod sors iniqua cogeret iussisse. Prominenti ex lectica praebentique immotam cervicem caput praecisum est. Nec satis stolidae crudelitati militum fuit. Manus quoque, scripsisse in Antonium aliquid exprobrantes, praeciderunt. Ita relatum caput ad Antonium iussuque eius inter duas manus in Rostris positum; ubi ille consul, ubi saepe consularis, ubi eo ipso anno adversus Antonium, quanta numquam humana vox cum admiratione eloquentiae auditus fuerat. Vix attolentes prae lacrimis oculos homines intueri trucidata membra eius poterant. Vixit tres et sexaginta annos, ut si vis abfuisset ne immatura quidem mors videri possit; ingenium et operibus et praemiis operum felix; ipse fortunae diu prosperae et in longo tenore felicitatis magnis interim ictus vulneribus, exsilio, ruina partium pro quibus steterat, filiae morte, exitu tam tristi atque acerbo, omnium adversorum nihil ut viro dignum erat tulit praeter mortem; quae vere aestimanti minus indigna videri potuit quod a victore inimico nil crudelius passus erat quam quod eiusdem fortunae compos ipse fecisset. Si quis tamen virtutibus vitia pensarit, vir magnus acer

Let me die in the fatherland I have so often saved." It is definitely known that his slaves were ready to fight bravely and loyally, but he bade them set down the litter and endure without rebellion what a hostile fortune forced upon them. As he thrust his head out of the litter and held his neck steady, he was decapitated. Nor was this enough for the brutish cruelty of the soldiers. They also cut off his hands, reproaching them for having written something against Antony. Thus the head was brought back to Antony and by his order placed between the two hands on the Rostra. There Cicero in his consulship, and again often as ex-consul, and again that very year in opposing Antony, had been heard with admiration for his eloquence such as had never been accorded to another human voice. People could hardly raise their eyes for their tears, in order to look at his butchered parts.

He lived sixty-three years, so that if he had suffered no violence, his death would not have seemed to be even untimely. His nature was fortunate both in its achievements and in its rewards for achievement; he enjoyed a long-continued good fortune and a prolonged state of prosperity, yet was from time to time smitten with severe blows, his exile, the downfall of the party he represented, the death of his daughter, and his own sad and bitter end. None of his adversities did he bear in a manner worthy of a gentleman except his death; and this, if one weighs the matter accurately, might seem the less undeserved, because he suffered from a victorious personal enemy nothing crueler than he would himself have done, had he attained to the same success. However, if one balances his faults against his virtues, he was a

memorabilis fuit, et in cuius laudes persequendas Cicerone laudatore opus fuerit.

Liber CXXVII

51. Acro ad Horat. *Sat.* I. v. 29: Quoniam inter Augustum et Antonium reliquiae adhuc erant dissensionis, Cocceius Nerva, proavus Nervae qui postea imperavit Romae, mandavit Augusto ut mitteret qui de summa rerum tractarent. Ergo missus est Maecenas cum Agrippa, qui utrumque exercitum in una castra coegerunt, ut ait Livius[1] lib. CXXVII. Intelligendum autem quod Fonteio misso ab Antonio Augustus Maecenaten et ceteros ad eundem locum emiserit.

52. Porphyrio, *ibid.*: Dissensione orta inter Caesarem Augustum Antoniumque Cocceius Nerva, avus eius qui postea Romae imperavit, petiit a Caesare ut aliquem qui de summa rerum tractaret mitteret Tarracinam. Et primum Maecenas, mox et Agrippa congressi sunt, hique pepigerunt fidem confirmatissimam et in una castra conferri signa utriusque exercitus iusserunt. Hoc et T. Livius lib. CXXVII refert, excepta Capitonis mentione.

53. Commentator Cruquii, *ibid.*: Ab Antonio missus fuerat Fonteius Capito legatus, ab Augusto Maecenas intercedente Cocceio Nerva, proavo Nervae imperatoris, qui et Augusto et Antonio gratus erat,

[1] Licinius *Hauthal, Berlin, 1866.*

man of greatness, energy, and distinction—a man, the complete exposition of whose merits would demand a Cicero as eulogist.

From Book CXXVII

51. Acron, note on Horace, *Satires* I. v. 29: Since there still remained certain left-overs of dispute between Augustus and Antony, Cocceius Nerva, the great-grandfather of the Nerva who was later Emperor of Rome, enjoined on Augustus that he should send envoys to discuss the whole situation. Accordingly, Maecenas was sent with Agrippa, and they gathered both armies into one camp, as Livy says in Book CXXVII. We are to understand, however, that after Fonteius had been sent by Antony, Augustus sent out Maecenas and the others to the same place.

52. Porphyrion, on the same: When a disagreement arose between Caesar Augustus and Antony, Cocceius Nerva, the grandfather of the man who was later Emperor of Rome, asked Caesar to send to Tarracina someone to discuss the whole situation. And first Maecenas, then presently Agrippa joined them, and these pledged faith with all solemnity and ordered the standards of both armies to be brought together in one camp. This is also related by Titus Livius in Book CXXVII, except for the mention of Capito.

53. Commentator Cruquii, on the same: Fonteius Capito had been sent as envoy by Antony, Maecenas and Agrippa by Augustus after the intervention of Cocceius Nerva, the great-grandfather of the Emperor Nerva, who was in the good graces of both Augustus and Antony. The terms on which

cum Agrippa. Ea autem condicione convenerant legati ut de summa rerum tractarent, exortamque dissensionem inter duos hos imperatores componerent; quod et fecerunt et utrumque exercitum iuxta Brundisium in una castra cum magna laetitia coegerunt, ut infert Livius lib. CXXVII.

Liber CXXXIII

54. Commentator Cruquii ad Horat. *Od.* I. xxxvii. 30: Livius refert Cleopatram, cum ab Augusto capta indulgentius de industria tractaretur, dicere solitam " Non triumphabor."

Liber CXXXV

55. Apponius, *in Canticum Canticorum* xii p. 237 (Rome, 1843): Caesar Augustus in spectaculis populo[1] nuntiat, regressus a Britannia insula, totum orbem terrarum tam bello quam amicitiis Romano imperio subditum.[2]

Liber CXXXVI

56. Censorinus, *de Die Natali* xvii: Eodem anno ludos saeculares Caesar ingenti apparatu fecit, quos

[1] spectaculis populo *edd.*: spectaculis Romano populo MS.
[2] imperio subditum *edd.*: imperio pacis abundantia subditum MS.

the envoys came together were that they should discuss the whole situation, and settle the disagreement which had arisen between the above-mentioned commanders. They proceeded to do so, and moreover gathered both armies near Brundisium into one camp, amid great rejoicing, as Livy notes in Book CXXVII.

The " omission " of Fonteius Capito by Livy seems to be due to a confusion on the part of the commentators between the negotiations of 40 B.C., described by Livy in Book CXXVII, cf. *Summary*, and those of 37 B.C., in which Fonteius was probably Antony's agent. For Nerva, cf. Appian, *Civil Wars* V. vii. 60–4.

From Book CXXXIII

54. Commentator Cruquii, on Horace, *Odes* I. xxxvii. 30: Livy tells us that Cleopatra, while she was a prisoner of Augustus and was intentionally being treated with considerable liberality, used to say, " I will not be shown in a triumph."

The notes of Acron and Porphyrion (cf. preceding frs.) contain the same information, and add the Greek of Cleopatra's remark, Οὐ *θριαμβεύσομαι*. *Summary* CXXXIII contains a very brief mention of Cleopatra's attitude and death.

From Book CXXXV

55. Apponius *on Song of Songs* xii: Caesar Augustus announced to the people at the shows given on his return from the island of Britain, that the whole world was subjected to Roman rule, whether by war or by diplomacy.

From Book CXXXVI

56. Censorinus *On the Birthday*, xvii. 10: This same year Caesar gave the Festival of the Age with great

centesimo quoque anno—is enim terminus saeculi—fieri mos.

Ex Incertis Libris

57. Seneca, *de Ira* I. xx. 6: Quod apud disertissimum virum T. Livium dicitur, " Vir ingenii magni magis quam boni."

58. Plinius, *N.H.* I, praef.: Profiteor mirari me T. Livium, auctorem celeberrimum, in Historiarum suarum quas repetit ab origine urbis quodam volumine sic exorsum: satis iam sibi gloriae quaesitum, et potuisse se desinere, ni animus inquies pasceretur opere.

59. Plinius, *N.H.* III. i. 4: T. Livius ac Nepos Cornelius latitudinis (freti Gaditani) tradiderunt ubi minus, septem millia passuum, ubi vero plurimum, decem millia.

60. = 68.

61. Servius ad Vergil. *Aen.* II. 148: Verba sunt, ut habemus in Livio, imperatoris transfugam recipientis in fidem, " Quisquis es, noster eris."

62. Guilielmus Malmesburiensis, *Rerum Anglicarum* V. § 412, p. 488 ed. Stubbs: " Imperatorem me mater mea, non bellatorem peperit."

magnificence; it is the custom to give these every hundred years, for that is the end of an age.

The year was 17 B.C. The interval was never regularly observed, in spite of Censorinus' quotations (above, frs. 11 and 13) from Livy and others; Augustus seems to have conceived the proper interval as being 110 years.

From Books not Identifiable

57. Seneca, *On Wrath* I. xx. 6: As is said in the works of Titus Livius, a very talented gentleman, " A man of great, rather than good, character."

58. Pliny, *Natural History* I, preface: I must say I am surprised that Titus Livius, that most famous author, in a certain book of his Histories, in which he went back to the beginnings of Rome, began as follows, " I have now earned fame enough, and might make an end, except that my restless mind feeds on the work."

59. Pliny, *Natural History* III. i. 4: Titus Livius and Cornelius Nepos give as the width of the strait of Gibraltar seven miles, where it is narrowest, and ten miles where it is widest.

Modern measurement gives a minimum width of 14 kilometers, or about nine and a half Roman miles.

60. = 68.

61. Servius, note on *Aeneid* II. 148: These are the words, as we find in Livy, of a commander taking a deserter under his protection, " Whoever you are, you shall be ours."

62. William of Malmesbury, *History of England* V. § 412, p. 488 ed. Stubbs:

" My mother bore me to be a general, not a warrior."

This is given by William as a saying of Scipio, and might be from Livy.

63. Gelasius Papa, *Epist. adv. Andromachum* (Baronii *Annal. Eccles.* 35 [anno 496]): Dic mihi, cum saepe numero in Romanis historiis legatur, Livio auctore,[1] saepissime in hac urbe exorta pestilentia infinita hominum millia deperiisse, atque eo frequenter ventum ut vix esset unde illis bellicosis temporibus exercitus potuisset ascribi, illo tempore deo tuo Februario minime litabatur? An etiam cultus hic omnino nihil proderat? Illo tempore Lupercalia non celebrabantur? Nec enim dicturus es haec sacra adhuc illo tempore non coepisse, quae ante Romulum ab Euandro in Italiam perhibentur illata. Lupercalia autem propter quid instituta sint (quantum ad ipsius superstitionis commenta respectant) Livius secunda decade loquitur; nec propter morbos inhibendos instituta commemorat, sed propter sterilitatem, ut ei videtur, mulierum, quae tunc acciderat, exigendam.

64. Servius ad Vergil. *Aen.* IV. 242: Secundum Livium legati pacis caduceatores dicuntur.

65. Servius ad Vergil. *Aen.* VI. 861: Livius argentum grave dicit, id est massas.

66. Servius ad Vergil. *Aen.* VII. 10: In hoc summo (promontorio Circeo) oppidum fuit, quod et Circeium dictum et Circei. Nam utrumque Livius dixit.

67. *Cf. infra, fr.* 84.

68. Servius ad Vergil. *Georg.* III, initium: Scimus concessum esse scribentibus ut iteratione prooemii legentium reficiant interdum laborem, nam et Livius

[1] auctore *Carafa* orare V (= Vat. lat. 3787 saec. XI) oratore *Günther*.

63. Pope Gelasius, *Letter refuting Andromachus*, Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum 35. 1, pp. 456 f.:

Tell me, since we read often in the history of Rome, on the authority of Livy, that at very frequent intervals an epidemic arose in this city and slew numberless thousands of persons, and many times matters came to such a pass that there was hardly a source from which in those war-filled times an army could be enrolled, was there at that time no ceremony at all in honour of your god Februarius? Or was even this worship of no value at all? At that time were the Lupercalia not performed? For surely you will not say that these rites had not yet begun in that period, since they are said to have been introduced into Italy by Evander before the time of Romulus. Moreover, as to the reason why the Lupercalia were established (in so far as they are connected with the falsehoods of superstition itself), Livy gives information in his second group of ten books; and he records that they were established, not to check diseases, but to eliminate, so he supposes, the sterility of women that had at that time befallen them.

64. Servius, note on *Aeneid* IV. 242: According to Livy, ambassadors for peace are called "bearers of Mercury's rod."

65. Servius, note on *Aeneid* VI. 861: Livy speaks of "massive silver," that is, bullion.

66. Servius, note on *Aeneid* VII. 10: On this height (Cape Circeium) there was a town, which was called both Circeium and Circei. For Livy used both.

67. See below, fr. 84.

68. Servius, prefatory note to *Georgics* III: We know that writers have the privilege of occasionally relieving the labour of their readers by inserting a fresh

frequenter innovat principia, ut incensa a Gallis urbe, et completis consulibus.

69. *Cf. infra, fr.* 85.

70. *Cf. infra, fr.* 86.

71. Incertus auctor, *de Dubiis Nominibus*, Keil V. p. 592: Vepres generis feminini, ut Titus Livius: has vepres.

72. *Cf. infra, fr.* 87

73. Seneca, *Controversiae* IX. i. 14 (xxiv): T. Livius tam iniquus Sallustio fuit ut hanc ipsam sententiam " Res secundae mire sunt vitiis obtentui " tamquam translatam et tamquam corruptam dum transfertur obiceret Sallustio. Nec hoc amore Thucydidis facit ut illum praeferat. Laudat quem non timet et facilius putat posse a se Sallustium vinci si ante a Thucydide vincatur.

74. Seneca, *Controversiae* IX. ii. 26 (xxv): T. Livius de oratoribus qui verba antiqua et sordida consectantur et orationis obscuritatem severitatem putant

preface, for Livy frequently makes a fresh start, as after the burning of the city by the Gauls, and at the end of a consular year.

For Livy's fresh starts, cf. the opening of Book VI (as mentioned by Servius), Book XXI, and above, fr. 58. The annalistic practice of marking the start of each consular year hardly seems worthy of Servius' attention in this connection, but I do not know how to interpret his final phrase in a different sense. Weissenborn prints *completis consulibus* as a separate fr. 60.

69. See below, fr. 85

70. See below, fr. 86.

71. Unknown author, *On Nouns of Uncertain Gender*, Keil V, p. 592: *Vepres* (briar) is of feminine gender, e.g. in Titus Livius, " these (*fem.*) briars."

72. See below, fr. 87.

73. Seneca the Rhetorician, *Argumentation* IX. i. 14 (xxiv): Titus Livius was so hostile to Sallust that he reproached Sallust for this very epigram, " Success is a wonderful cloak for faults," on the ground that it was a translation and spoiled in the translating. Nor does he do this out of affection for Thucydides, in order to give him the better of it. He praises the man he is not afraid of, and thinks that Sallust can be more easily beaten by himself if he is first beaten by Thucydides.

Sallust's epigram is found in the Oration of Lepidus (*Histories* I. 55 Maurenbrecher) sec. 24; the Greek quoted by Seneca, but not included above, does not appear in our Thucydides; the sentiment, in slightly different words, is found in [Demosthenes] *On the Letter of Philip* 13.

74. Seneca the Rhetorician, *Argumentation* IX. ii. 26 (xxv): Concerning orators who pursue obsolete and vulgar words and mistake obscurity for austerity, Titus

aiebat, Militiadem rhetorem eleganter dixisse, "ἐπὶ τὸ λεξικὸν[1] μαίνονται."

75. Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoris* VIII. ii. 18: In hoc malum a quibusdam etiam laboratur, neque id novum vitium est, cum iam apud T. Livium inveniam fuisse praeceptorem aliquem qui discipulos *obscurare* quae dicerent iuberet, Graeco verbo utens, *σκότισον*. Unde illa scilicet egregia laudatio, "Tanto melior; ne ego quidem intellexi."

76. Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoris* X, i. 39: Fuit igitur brevitas illa tutissima quae apud Livium in epistola ad filium scripta, "legendos Demosthenem atque Ciceronem; tum ita ut quisque esset Demostheni et Ciceroni simillimus.

77. Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoris* VIII. iii. 53: Vitanda *μακρολογία*, id est longior quam oportet sermo, ut apud Livium: "Legati non impetrata pace retro, unde venerant, domum reversi sunt."

78. Incertus auctor, *de Generibus Nominum*, p. 591K: Scalper, generis masculini, sicut culter, ut Titus Livius, quamvis quidam scalprum dicant.

[1] λεξικὸν *Bursian*; λεξιον MS: δεξιὸν *Madvig*: τῷ πλησιον *Weissenborn*.

Livius used to say that Miltiades the professor had put it neatly: "They have a passion for the dictionary."

An alternative emendation gives: "They are raving against their neighbour."

75. Quintilian, *Oratorical Studies* VIII. ii. 18: Certain persons even undergo toil to attain this evil, nor is this vice an innovation, since I find even in Titus Livius that there was a certain instructor who bade his students "darken" what they had to say, using the Greek word *skotison*. From the same source comes, if you please, that glorious praise, "So much the better; I didn't understand it myself."

76. Quintilian, *Oratorical Studies* X. i. 39: The safest thing, then, was the epigram written by Livy in a letter to his son, "Read Demosthenes and Cicero; after that, the more each author is like Demosthenes and Cicero, the better."

Cf. also Quintilian II. v. 20 for an abbreviated version of this reference.

77. Quintilian, *Oratorical Studies* VIII. iii. 53: Long-windedness is to be avoided, that is, any expression longer than is proper, as in Livy: "The envoys, having failed to obtain peace, returned back home, whence they had come."

Substantially the same statement is found in Charisius, III p. 271K (and cf. p. 449K). Hertz points out that, while the exact words are not found in the extant books of Livy, similar expressions occur in IX. ii. 10; XXIV. xx. 3; XXIV. xl. 9; and XXXVIII. xvi. 6.

78. Anon. *On Nouns of Doubtful Gender*, p. 591K: *Scalper* (chisel) is of masculine gender, like *culter* (knife), as in Titus Livius, although some say *scalprum*.

79. Plinius, *Naturalis Historia* III. xix. 132: (Alpis patere tradit) in latitudinem autem Cornelius Nepos C̄, Titus Livius ĪĪĪ stadiorum, uterque diversis in locis.

80. Iona, *vita S. Columbani*, Migne 87. 1015C: ut Livius ait, nihil tam sanctum religione tamque custodia clausum quo penetrare libido nequeat.

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[1] The attribution of this fragment to Livy is questioned by Mueller. He also includes as his fr. 67 the reference in Tacitus, *Annals* IV. 34, to the freedom enjoyed by Livy to praise Brutus, Cassius, and especially Pompey. Other passages cited by Hertz and Mueller as fragments, but referable also to extant text, are the following: Quintilian I. vii. 24 = fr. 78M, use of the spelling *sibe* and *quase*; Priscian XVIII. 231, = fr. 68H, 79M, phrase *in milites*, cf. *in pedites*, XXXIV. lii. 11; Priscian XVIII. 292 = fr. 69H, 80M, *assertio*, cf. *adsertor*, III. xlvi. 7; fr. 70H, 81M, fourth declension neuters. Cf. also Hertz frs. 65–7 on *clipeum*, *callis* (fem.), and Livy's "teen" numerals; fr. 71, text and attribution doubtful.

The last clause is not included by Keil, but appears in the citation by Haupt, *Ovid's Halieutica, etc.*, p. 101. The neuter *scalprum* appears, e.g., in XXVII. xlix. 1.

79. Pliny, *Natural History* III. xix. 132: Moreover, the width of the Alps is said to extend over one hundred miles by Cornelius Nepos, and three thousand stades by Titus Livius, each of whom refers to a different region.

As pointed out by Rackham, L.C.L., Pliny, vol. II, p. 98, the figure given for Livy's measurement, 360 Roman or 333 English miles, assuming an Olympic stade of 178·6 metres, is too large; something like DL or DC would be preferable, as corresponding to the figure of seventy miles given by Pliny as a minimum, after he has mentioned one hundred miles as a somewhat under-estimated maximum. It seems likely that Livy took his Greek measurement from Polybius.

80. Jonah, *Life of Saint Columban*, Migne 87, 1015C As Livy says, nothing is made so holy by awe, or kept so remote by watchfulness, that lust cannot reach it.[1]

FRAGMENTS SOMETIMES ATTRIBUTED TO LIVY

81. Anon. *On the Seven Wonders of the World*, in Haupt, *Ovidii Halieutica, etc.*, pp. xxviii and 70 f. = fr. 4W. This contains a list of the principal mountains of Sicily, and is assigned to Livy; but elsewhere the quotation appears as from Julius Titianus, see Hertz I. xii.

82. Note on Lucan, *Pharsalia* I. 319 = fr. 28W. This is a comment on Pompey's superintendence of the grain supply. The letters *lv* in the MS. represent the name of the author quoted, but the quotation is not from Livy, but Boethius, *Consolation* III, prose iv.

83. Appian, *Civil War* III. xi. 77 = fr. 44 Weissenborn. Perizonius proposed reading " Livy " in place of " Libo " in this passage, but the emendation is generally rejected.

84. Priscian VIII, p. 382K. = fr. 67W. Weissenborn reads " Livius " for " Aelius " as the source for this quotation, but the rather technical legal language does not sound like Livy.

85. Nonius Marcellus, p. 308 L. Mueller, Leipzig, Teubner, 1888 = fr. 69W. A garbled quotation is assigned by the MSS. to Titus Livius, but Mueller assigns this to Livius Andronicus, since one MS. cites " Ajax Bearing a Whip " as the work cited, i.e., a tragedy after Sophocles (=Warmington, *Remains of Old Latin*, fr. 16–17).

86. Nonius Marcellus, p. 599 Mueller = fr. 70W. Again the MSS. name Titus Livius, but the quotation sounds poetic, and is assigned by Mueller to Andronicus.

87. Sallust, *Histories* II. 43 ed. Maurenbrecher = fr. 72W. This badly broken fragment shows the names of Publius Lentulus Marcellinus, King Apion, and Quintus Metellus Creticus, and was formerly assigned to Livy, cf. Weissenborn *ad loc.*, but is now given to Sallust, cf. Hertz I. p. xii.

88. Anon. *de Dubiis Nominibus* p. 575K: Cancer, the swelling, is of neuter gender, as in Livy, " the evil is wont to hide—the incurable cancer." It is tempting to put this

alongside fr. 27; but there is a suggestion of metre in the Latin *immedicabile cancer*, and the text is uncertain.

89. Beda, *de Orthographia* p. 292K: "Torque" is a noun of common gender, for in the story of Marius, Livy makes 'torque" of masculine gender, and Cicero makes it feminine.

If we read "Manlius" for "Marius," this would refer to VII. x. 11, but there was a Gaul connected with Marius, cf. Summary LXXVII.

90. Anon. *de Dubiis Nominibus* p. 572K: The phrase "laxisque bracis" (slack trousers), quoted as from Livy, is found in Ovid, *Tristia* V. vii. 49, which may indicate that textual emendation is in order.

TABLE OF CHANGES IN NUMBERING OF FRAGMENTS

(The numbers of the Weissenborn edition are kept, except as indicated.)

Weissenborn	Hertz	Loeb	Weissenborn	Hertz	Loeb
1–3			61	58	
4	om.	81	62	om.	
5–12	4–11		63	12	
13–15			64–66	59–61	
om.	16	15a	67	om.	84
16–27	17–28		om.	62	77
28	74	82	om.	63	80
29–30	29		68	64	
31–35	30–34			65–71*	
36	42	43a	69–70	om.	85–6
37–43	35–41		om.	72	78
44	om.	83	71	73	
45–50	43–49		72	om.	87
51–53	50		73–75	76–78	
54–59	51–56		76	75 †	
60=68					
om.	57	79			

* These fragments in Hertz are grammarians' quotations from Livy; since the words quoted can be found in extant Books, they are here omitted from the fragments. Cf. note 1, p. 232.

† Chronological notes from Cassiodorus are included by Hertz, but without numbering; since these do not reproduce Livy's words, they are not included here.

JULIUS OBSEQUENS

IULII OBSEQUENTIS

AB ANNO URBIS CONDITAE DV PRODIGIORUM LIBER

A.U.C. 564

L. Scipione C. Laelio coss.

1. Iunonis Lucinae templum fulmine ictum ita ut fastigium valvaeque deformarentur. In finitimis pleraque de caelo icta. Nursiae sereno nimbi orti et homines duo exanimati. Tusculi terra pluit. Mula Reate peperit. Supplicatio per decem pueros patrimos matrimos totidem virgines habita.

A.U.C. 566

M. Messala C. Livio coss.

2. Luce inter horam tertiam et quartam tenebrae ortae. In Aventino lapidum pluviae novendiali expiatae. In Hispania prospere militatum.

A.U.C. 568

Sp. Postumio Albino Q. Marcio Philippo coss.[1]

3. Sacrum novendiale factum quod in Piceno lapidibus pluit ignesque caelestes multifariam orti

[1] Sp. Postumio Albino Q. Marcio Philippo coss. *add. Oudendorp* : *om.* MS.

[1] References are to the passages of Livy on which Obsequens drew, unless otherwise indicated.

JULIUS OBSEQUENS

A BOOK OF PRODIGIES AFTER THE 505TH YEAR OF ROME

Consulship of Lucius Scipio and Gaius Laelius B.C. 190

1. The temple of Juno Lucina was struck by lightning, in such a way that the gable and the doors were damaged. In neighbouring towns many things were struck by lightning. At Nursia storm-clouds gathered from a clear sky, and two persons were killed. At Tusculum there was a shower of earth. A mule at Reate produced a colt. A day of prayer was observed by ten boys with living fathers and mothers, and as many girls. (XXXVII. iii. 2–6.[1])

Consulship of Marcus Messala and Gaius Livius B.C. 188

2. Between the third and fourth hour of the day, darkness set in. On the Aventine, showers of stones were atoned for by a nine-day observance. There was a successful campaign in Spain. (XXXVIII. xxxvi. 4.)

Consulship of Spurius Postumius Albinus and Quintus Marcius Philippus B.C. 186

3. A nine-day observance was held because there had been a shower of stones in Picenum, and because lightning bolts, appearing in many places, had

A.U.C. 568 levi afflatu complurium vestimenta adusserunt. Aedes Iovis in Capitolio fulmine icta. In Umbria semimas duodecim ferme annorum inventus[1] aruspicumque iussu necatus. Galli qui Alpis transierunt in Italiam sine proelio eiecti.

A.U.C. 571 M. Claudio Q. Fabio Labeone coss.

4. In area Vulcani per biduum, in area Concordiae totidem diebus sanguinem pluit. In Sicilia insula nova maritima.[2] Hannibal in Bithynia veneno periit. Celtiberi subacti.

A.U.C. 572 L. Aemilio Paulo Cn. Baebio Tamphilo coss.

5. Procellosa tempestas strage[3] in urbe facta signa aenea in Capitolio deiecit, signa in circo maximo cum columnis evertit, fastigia templorum aliquot a culmine abrupta dissipavit. Mulus tripes Reate natus. Aedes Apollinis Caietae fulmine icta.[4]

A.U.C. 573 P. Cornelio Cethego M. Baebio Tamphilo coss.[5]

6. In area Vulcani et Concordiae sanguinem pluit. Hastae Martis motae. Lanuvii simulacrum Iunonis Sospitae lacrimavit. Pestilentiae Libitina non suf-

[1] inventus *C. Barth* : natus MS.
[2] maritima MS : mari nata *Scaliger*.
[3] tempestas strage *Oudendorp* : tempestate strages MS.
[4] icta *Sigonius* : ictae MS.
[5] P. Cornelio Cethego M. Baebio Tamphilo coss. *add. Hearn* : *om.* MS.

[1] Livy says the temple of Ops.
[2] That is, all the dead could not be buried.

scorched the clothes of many persons by a slight blast of heat. The temple of Jupiter[1] on the Capitol was struck by lightning. In Umbria, a hermaphrodite about twelve years old was discovered, and by order of the soothsayers was put to death. Gauls who had crossed the Alps into Italy were expelled without a battle. (XXXIX. xxii. 3–5.) B.C. 186

Consulship of Marcus Claudius and Quintus Fabius Labeo B.C. 183

4. There was a rain of blood for two days in the precinct of Vulcan, and for the same length of time in the precinct of Concord. Off Sicily, a new island in the sea arose. Hannibal died of poison in Bithynia. The Celtiberians were overcome. (XXXIX. xlvi. 5; li; lvi. 6; Orosius IV. xx. 30.)

Consulship of Lucius Aemilius Paulus and Gnaeus Baebius Tamphilus B.C. 182

5. A windstorm wrecked buildings in the city, overthrew bronze statues on the Capitol, overturned statues with their columns in the Circus Maximus, tore the roofs off the top of several temples, and scattered them. A mule with three feet was born at Reate. The temple of Apollo at Caieta was struck by lightning. (XL. ii. 1–4.)

Consulship of Publius Cornelius Cethegus and Marcus Baebius Tamphilus B.C. 181

6. There was a rain of blood in the precinct of Vulcan and that of Concord. The spears of Mars moved. At Lanuvium the image of Juno the Deliverer shed tears. The plague overwhelmed Libitina.[2] On

A.U.C. 573 fecit.[1] Ex Sibyllinis supplicatum cum sex mensibus non pluisset. Ligures proelio victi deletique.

A.U.C. 575 Q. Fulvio L. Manlio[2] coss.

7. Nimbis continuis in Capitolio signa aliquot deiecta. Fulmine Romae et circa plurima decussa. In lectisternio Iovis terrae motu deorum capita se converterunt; lanx[3] cum integumentis quae Iovi erant apposita decidit. De mensa oleas mures praeroserunt.

A.U.C. 576 M. Iunio A.[4] Manlio coss.

8. Incendio circa forum cum plurima essent deusta, aedes Veneris sine ullo vestigio cremata. Vestae penetralis ignis extinctus. Virgo iussu M. Aemilii pontificis maximi flagro caesa negavit ulterius interiturum.[5] Supplicationibus habitis in Hispania et Histria bella prospere administrata.

A.U.C. 577 C. Claudio Ti. Sempronio Gracchо coss.[6]

[1] suffecit *ed. Iuntina* : sufficit MS.
[2] L. Manlio *Hearn* : C. Manlius MS.
[3] lanx *Cuper* : lana MS. : laena *Scheffer*.
[4] A. *Hearn* : Gn. MS.
[5] interiturum *Scheffer* : interitorum MS.
[6] Ti. Sempronio Graccho *add. Lycosthenes* : *om.* MS.

advice of the Sibylline Books, there was a day of prayer after rain had failed for six months. The Ligurians were conquered in battle and crushed. (XL. xix. 1–5; xxix. 2; xxviii. 1–7.) B.C. 181

Consulship of Quintus Fulvius and Lucius Manlius B.C. 179

7. A succession of storms threw down several statues on the Capitol. A great amount of damage was done by lightning in Rome and round about. At the banquet spread for Jupiter, the heads of the gods turned about during an earthquake; the platter with its lids which was placed before Jupiter fell down. Mice nibbled the olives on the table. (XL. xlv. 3 [Obsequens omits some items]; lix. 7–8.)

Consulship of Marcus Junius and Aulus Manlius B.C. 178

8. When a large area around the forum was devastated by fire, the temple of Venus was burned without leaving a trace. The home fire of Vesta went out. The Vestal was whipped by order of the chief pontiff, Marcus Aemilius, and declared that the fire would never go out again. After days of prayer had been observed, successful campaigns were carried out in Spain and Histria. (*Summary* XLI; Histrians, XLI. ii–xi; Vestal, cf. XXVIII. xi. 6; Plutarch, *Numa*, x. 4; M. Aemilius (Lepidus), chief pontiff, XL. xlii. 12.)

Consulship of Gaius Claudius and Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus B.C. 177

(Items lost from the Obsequens MS. at this point are found in XLI. xiii. 1–3.)

A.U.C. 578

Cn. Cornelio Q. Petillio coss.[1]

9. Cum immolassent victimas consules, iecur extabuit. Cornelius ex monte Albano rediens membris captus ad aquas Cumanas mortuus, Petillius contra Ligures dimicans occisus est.

A.U.C. 579

M. Lepido Q. Mucio coss.

10. Gravi pestilentia hominum boumque cadavera non sufficiente Libitina cum iacerent, vulturius[2] non apparuit. Celtiberi deleti.

A.U.C. 587

Q. Aelio Paeto M. Iunio coss.[3]

11. Romae aliquot loca sacra profanaque de caelo tacta. Anagniae terra pluit. Lanuvi[4] fax ardens in caelo visa. Calatiae in agro publico per triduum et duas noctes sanguis manavit. Rex Illyrici Gentius et Macedoniae Perses devicti.

A.U.C. 588

M. Marcello C.[5] Sulpicio coss.

12. In Campania multis locis terra pluit. In Praenestino cruenti ceciderunt imbres. Veienti

[1] Cn. Cornelio *add. Oudendorp*: *om.* MS.; Q. Petillio *Scheffer*: Lucio Petellio MS.
[2] vulturius *Scheffer*: ulterius MS.
[3] Aelio, Iunio *Hearn*: Aemylio, Iulio MS.
[4] Lanuvi *Perizonius*: Lavini MS.
[5] C. *Oudendorp*: P. MS.

[1] Items omitted by the Obsequens MS. between the years 175 and 167 include those mentioned in XLI. xxviii. 2; XLII. ii. 4–6; XLIII. xiii. 3–8; XLIV. xviii. 6. P. Mucius was consul this year, Quintus in 174.

Consulship of Gnaeus Cornelius and Quintus Petillius B.C. 176

9. After the consuls had offered sacrifice, the liver melted away. Cornelius suffered a stroke on his way back from the Alban Mount and died at the spa of Cumae, while Petillius was killed in battle against the Ligurians. (XLI. xiv. 7; xv. 1–4; xvi. 3–4 [other prodigies, xvi. 6]; xviii. 8–11, 14.)

Consulship of Marcus Lepidus and Quintus Mucius B.C. 175

10. During a serious plague of men and cattle, corpses lay exposed because Libitina was overwhelmed, but no vulture appeared. The Celtiberians were crushed. (XLI. xxi. 5–7; xxvi.[1])

Consulship of Quintus Aelius Paetus and Marcus Junius B.C. 167

11. At Rome several places, both consecrated and common, were struck by lightning. At Anagnia there was a shower of earth. At Lanuvium a blazing meteor was seen in the sky. At Calatia on land owned by the state blood trickled for three days and two nights. King Gentius of Illyricum and King Perseus of Macedonia were conquered. (XLV. xvi. 5–7.)

Consulship of Marcus Marcellus and Gaius Sulpicius B.C. 166

12. In Campania there was a shower of earth at many points. In the territory of Praeneste bloody rain fell. In the territory of Veii wool grew from

A.U.C. 588 lana ex arboribus nata. Terracinae in aede Minervae mulieres tres, quae operatae sedebant, exanimatae. Ad lucum [1] Libitinae in statua equestri aenea ex ore et pede aqua manavit diu. Galli Ligures deleti.

Comitia cum ambitiosissime fierent et ob hoc senatus in Capitolio haberetur, milvus volans mustelam raptam de cella Iovis in medio consessu patrum misit. Sub idem tempus aedes Salutis de caelo tacta. In colle Quirinali sanguis terra manavit. Lanuvii fax in caelo nocte conspecta. Fulmine pleraque discussa Cassini et sol per aliquot horas noctis visus. Teani Sidicini puer cum quattuor manibus et totidem pedibus natus. Urbe lustrata [2] pax domi forisque fuit.

A.U.C. 589 CN. OCTAVIO T. MANLIO COSS.

13. Pestilentia fameque ita laboratum ut ex Sibyllinis populus circa compita sacellaque operaturus sederit. In aede Penatium valvae nocte sua sponte adapertae, et lupi Esquiliis et in colle Quirinali meridie apparuerunt exagitatique fuerunt. Urbe lustrata nihil triste accidit.

[1] lucum *Scheffer*: locum MS.
[2] lustrata *Stephanus*: strata MS.

trees. At Terracina in the temple of Minerva three B.C. 166 women, who were seated after performing rites, lost their lives. At the grove of Libitina, water dripped for a long time from the mouth and foot of a bronze equestrian statue. The Ligurian Gauls were crushed.

When elections occurred marked by great corruption, and for this reason a session of the senate was being held on the Capitol, a kite came flying and dropped into the midst of the assembled Fathers a weasel that it had caught inside the temple of Jupiter. About this same time the temple of Safety was struck by lightning. On the Quirinal hill, blood oozed from the ground. At Lanuvium a meteor was seen in the sky by night. Several things were knocked to pieces by lightning at Cassinum, and the sun was seen for several hours at night. At Teanum Sidicinum a boy was born with four hands and as many feet. After the city had been purified there was peace at home and abroad. (Ligurians, *Summary* XLVI; bribery, cf. *Summary* XLVII, 159 B.C.)

CONSULSHIP OF GNAEUS OCTAVIUS AND TITUS MANLIUS B.C. 165

13. There was such suffering from disease and hunger that on instructions from the Sibylline Books the people took seats at the cross-roads and shrines for the performance of rites. In the temple of the Penates the doors opened of their own accord at night, and wolves appeared at noon on the Esquiline and on the Quirinal Hill, and were driven out. After the city had been purified, no disaster occurred.

A.U.C. 591

TI. GRACCHO M'.[1] IUVENTIO coss.

14. Capuae nocte sol visus. In agro Stellati fulgure vervecum de grege pars exanimata. Terracinae pueri trigemini nati. Formiis duo soles interdiu visi. Caelum arsit. Antii[2] homo ex speculo acie orta combustus. Gabiis lacte pluit. Fulmine pleraque decussa in Palatio. In templum Victoriae cygnus inlapsus per manus capientium effugit. Priverni puella sine manu nata. In Cephallenia tuba[3] in caelo cantare visa. Terra pluit. Procellosa tempestate tecta diruta stragesque agrorum facta. Crebro fulminavit. Nocte species solis Pisauri adfulsit. Caere porcus humanis manibus et pedibus natus, et pueri quadrupedes et quadrumanes nati. Ad forum Aesi[4] bovem flamma ex ipsius ore nata non laesit.

A.U.C. 592

P. SCIPIONE NASICA C.[5] MARCIO coss.

15. Anagniae caelum nocte arsit. Fulmine pleraque decussa. Frusinone bos locutus. Reate mulus tripes natus. Cn. Octavius, legatus in Syria, per Lysiam, tutorem Antiochi pueri, in gymnasio occisus.

[1] Ti. *Jahn*: T. MS.; M'. *Hearn*: M. MS.
[2] Antii *Heinsius*: Concii MS.: Compsae *Kapp.*
[3] tuba *Perizonius*: turba MS.
[4] Aesi *Scheffer*: Esii MS.: fluvium Aesin *Oudendorp.*
[5] Nasica C. *Oudendorp*: Nasi. Gn. MS.

CONSULSHIP OF TIBERIUS GRACCHUS AND MANIUS IUVENTIUS B.C. 163

14. At Capua the sun was seen by night. On the Stellate Plain part of a flock of wethers was struck dead by a thunderbolt. At Tarracina, male triplets were born. At Formiae two suns were seen by day. The sky was afire. At Antium a man was burned up by a ray of light from a mirror. At Gabii there was a rain of milk. Several things were overthrown by lightning on the Palatine. A swan glided into the temple of Victory and eluded the grasp of those who tried to capture it. At Privernum a girl was born without any hands. In Cephallenia a trumpet seemed to sound from the sky. There was a rain of earth. A windstorm demolished houses and laid crops flat in the fields. There was frequent lightning. By night an apparent sun shone at Pisaurum. At Caere a pig was born with human hands and feet, and children were born with four feet and four hands. At Forum Aesi an ox was uninjured by flame which sprang from its own mouth.

CONSULSHIP OF PUBLIUS SCIPIO NASICA AND GAIUS MARCIUS B.C. 162

15. At Anagnia the sky was afire at night. Several things were overthrown by lightning. At Frusino an ox spoke. At Reate a three-footed mule was born. Gnaeus Octavius, an envoy to Syria, was assassinated in a gymnasium at the instigation of Lysias, the guardian of the boy Antiochus. (Octavius, Appian, *Syrian Wars* viii. 46. The assassin was Leptines, and Appian does not involve Lysias.)

A.U.C. 598

L. Lentulo C. Marcio coss.

16. Procellosa tempestate in Capitolio aedes Iovis et circa omnia[1] quassata. Pontificis[2] maximi tectum cum columnis in Tiberim deiectum. In circo Flaminio porticus inter aedem Iunonis Reginae et Fortunae tacta, et circa aedificia pleraque dissipata. Taurus ad immolationem cum duceretur ob haec ipsa corruit. Dalmatae Scordisci[3] superati.

A.U.C. 600

Q. Opimio L.[4] Postumio coss.

17. In provinciam proficiscens Postumius consul cum immolaret, in plurimis victimis caput in iocinere non invenit; profectusque post diem septimum aeger Romam relatus expiravit. Compsae[5] arma in caelo volare visa. Fulmine pleraque decussa. A Gallis et a Lusitanis Romani per arma graviter vexati.

A.U.C. 602

M. Claudio Marcello L. Valerio Flacco coss.

18. Turbinis vi in campo columna ante aedem Iovis decussa cum signo aurato; cumque aruspices

[1] omnia *add. Rossbach*: *om.* MS.
[2] pontificis *Mommsen*: pontis MS.
[3] Scordisci *Scheffer*: Scordis MS.
[4] Q., L. *Jahn*; L., Q. MS.
[5] Compsae *Cuper*: Consae MS.

Consulship of Lucius Lentulus and Gaius Marcius B.C. 156

16. A violent storm racked the temple of Jupiter on the Capitol and everything near it. The roof of the chief pontiff's house with its columns was thrown down into the Tiber. In the Flaminian Circus a colonnade between the temple of Queen Juno and that of Fortune was struck, and several buildings near it were shattered. When a bull was being led to sacrifice because of these very portents, the animal collapsed. The Dalmatian Scordisci were defeated. (Presumably the Scordisci entered Illyricum on a raid, cf. *Ox. Summary* LIV, 141 B.C., and LVI, 135 B.C.)

Consulship of Quintus Opimius and Lucius Postumius B.C. 154

17. As Consul Postumius was offering sacrifice on his departure for his field of operations, he found no head on the liver in a very large number of victims; he set out, but seven days later he was brought back to Rome ill, and breathed his last. At Compsa weapons appeared to fly through the sky. Several things were overthrown by lightning. The Romans received severe military setbacks from the Gauls and Lusitanians. (Gaul and Spain, *Summary* XLVII; Polybius XXXIII. viii–x.)

Consulship of Marcus Claudius Marcellus and Lucius Valerius Flaccus B.C. 152

18. On the Campus Martius a column with a gilded statue in front of the temple of Jupiter was overthrown by a violent whirlwind; when the soothsayers

A.U.C. 602 respondissent magistratuum et sacerdotum interitum fore, omnes magistratus se protinus abdicaverunt. Quod Ariciae lapidibus pluerat, supplicatio habita, item [1] quod Romae multis locis species togatorum [2] visae adpropinquantium oculos eludebant. In Lusitania varie, in Gallia prospere pugnatum.

A.U.C. 606 SPURIO POSTUMIO L. PISONE coss.

19. Vasto incendio Romae cum regia quoque ureretur, sacrarium et ex duabus altera laurus ex mediis ignibus inviolatae steterunt.[3] Pseudophilippus devictus.

A.U.C. 607 P. AFRICANO C. LIVIO [4] coss.

20. Amiterni puer tribus pedibus, una manu natus. Romae et circa fulmine pleraque icta. Caere sanguinis rivi terra fluxerunt et nocte caelum ac terra ardere visum. Frusinone aurum sacrum mures adroserunt. Lanuvii inter horam tertiam et quintam duo discolores circuli solem cinxerunt rubente alter, alter candida linea. Stella arsit per dies triginta duos. Et cum Carthago obsideretur, in captivos Romanorum per Hasdrubalem barbaro more saevitum, mox Carthago per Aemilianum diruta.

[1] supplicatio habita, item *Scheffer*: ita supplicatio habita MS.
[2] togatorum *Freinshem*: togarum MS.
[3] inviolatae steterunt *Oudendorp*: inviolata est et erunt MS.
[4] C. Livio *Oudendorp, Pighius*: et Laelio MS.

made answer that there would be deaths among magistrates and priests, all the magistrates resigned forthwith. Because there had been a rain of stones at Aricia, a day of prayer was observed, and another because at many places in Rome apparitions of men in togas were seen that vanished from the sight of persons approaching them. Fighting went on in Spain with varying outcome, and in Gaul, with good success. (Claudius in Spain, *Summary* XLVIII; Polybius XXXV. ii. f.) B.C. 152

CONSULSHIP OF SPURIUS POSTUMIUS AND LUCIUS PISO B.C. 148

19. In a huge fire at Rome, the Regia also was burned, but the sanctuary and one of a pair of laurel trees came out of the midst of the fire unscathed. The false Philip was overthrown. (*Summaries* L and *Ox.* L.)

CONSULSHIP OF PUBLIUS AFRICANUS AND GAIUS LIVIUS B.C. 147

20. At Amiternum a boy was born with three feet and one hand. At Rome and near by several things were hit by lightning. At Caere streams of blood flowed from the earth and at night heaven and earth seemed to be on fire. At Frusino mice gnawed the sacred gold. At Lanuvium between the third and the fifth hour two halos of different colours encircled the sun; one made a red line, the other a white. A comet blazed for thirty-two days. While Carthage was being besieged, barbaric outrages were inflicted by Hasdrubal on Roman prisoners, and presently Carthage was rased by Aemilianus. (*Summary Ox.* LI.)

A.U.C. 611

APPIO CLAUDIO Q.[1] METELLO COSS.

21. Amiterni puer tribus pedibus natus. Caurae sanguinis rivi e terra fluxerunt. Cum a Salassis illata clades esset Romanis, decemviri pronuntiaverunt se invenisse in Sibyllinis, quotiens bellum Gallis illaturi essent, sacrificari in eorum finibus oportere.

A.U.C. 612

L. METELLO Q. FABIO MAXIMO COSS.

22. Fames et pestilentia cum essent, per decemviros supplicatum. Lunae androgynus natus praecepto aruspicum in mare deportatus. Tanta fuit Lunensibus pestilentia ut iacentibus in publicum passim cadaveribus, qui funerarent defuerint. In Macedonia exercitus Romanus proelio vexatus: adversus Viriathum dubie dimicavit.

A.U.C. 614

Q.[2] CAEPIONE C. LAELIO COSS.

23. Praeneste et in Cephallenia signa de caelo cecidisse visa. Mons Aetna ignibus abundavit. Prodigium maioribus hostiis quadraginta expiatum. Annus pacatus fuit Viriatho victo.

[1] Q. *Hearn*: P. MS.
[2] Q. *Oudendorp*: Gn. MS.

CONSULSHIP OF APPIUS CLAUDIUS AND QUINTUS METELLUS B.C. 143

21. At Amiternum a boy was born with three feet. At Caura streams of blood flowed from the ground. When the Salassi inflicted a disaster on the Romans, the Board of Ten announced that they had found a provision in the Sibylline Books that, whenever the Romans were about to launch a campaign against Gauls, they were required to offer sacrifice in enemy territory. (*Summary* LIII; Dio XXII. fr. 74. 1; Orosius V. iv. 7 [293].)

CONSULSHIP OF LUCIUS METELLUS AND QUINTUS FABIUS MAXIMUS B.C. 142

22. Since there was famine and an epidemic, an observance of prayer was offered by the Board of Ten. At Luna a hermaphrodite was born, and on the instructions of the soothsayers was cast into the sea. There was such a plague among the people of Luna that though the corpses were lying about everywhere in civic areas, men to perform burial were lacking. In Macedonia a Roman army suffered losses in battle; against Viriathus another fought without success. (*Summaries* LIII and *Ox.* LIII; Orosius V. iv. 8–14 [293], but Orosius places the epidemic at Rome.)

CONSULSHIP OF QUINTUS CAEPIO AND GAIUS LAELIUS B.C. 140

23. At Praeneste and in Cephallenia it seemed that images had fallen from the sky. Mount Aetna showed much fire. This portent was expiated with forty full-grown victims. The year was peaceful after the defeat of Viriathus. (*Summary* LIV.)

A.U.C. 617

M. Aemilio C. Hostilio Mancino coss.

24. Cum Lavinii[1] auspicaretur, pulli e cavea in silvam Laurentinam evolarunt neque inventi sunt. Praeneste fax ardens in caelo visa, sereno intonuit. Terracinae M. Claudius praetor in nave fulmine conflagravit. Lacus Fucinus per milia passuum quinque quoquo[2] versum inundavit. In Graecostasi et comitio sanguine fluxit. Esquiliis equuleus cum quinque pedibus natus. Fulmine pleraque decussa. Hostilius Mancinus consul in portu Herculis cum conscenderet navem petens Numantiam, vox improviso audita, " Mane, Mancine." Cumque egressus postea navem Genuae conscendisset, anguis in navi inventus e manibus effugit. Ipse consul devictus, mox Numantinis deditus.

A.U.C. 618

L. Furio S.[3] Atilio Serrano coss.

25. Regium paene totum incendio consumptum sine ullo humano fraudis aut neglegentiae vestigio. Puer ex ancilla quattuor pedibus manibus oculis auribus et duplici obsceno natus. Puteolis in aquis calidis rivi manarunt sanguine. Fulmine pleraque deiecta. Puer aruspicum iussu crematus cinisque eius in mare deiectus. A Vaccaeis[4] exercitus Romanus caesus.

[1] Lavinii *Cluver*: Lanuvii MS.
[2] quoquo *Stephanus*: quoque MS.
[3] S. *add. Panvin*: *om.* MS.
[4] Vaccaeis *Oudendorp*: ab Achaeis MS.

Consulship of Marcus Aemilius and Gaius Hostilius Mancinus B.C. 137

24. When the auspices were taken at Lavinium, the chickens flew out of their coop into the Laurentine forest and could not be found. At Praeneste a blazing meteor appeared in the sky, and there was thunder from cloudless heavens. At Tarracina Praetor Marcus Claudius was burned up in his ship by a lightning bolt. The Fucine Lake overflowed the land for five miles in all directions. In the Graecostasis and assembly ground there was a flow of blood. On the Esquiline a colt was born with five feet. Several things were overthrown by lightning. As Consul Hostilius Mancinus was boarding ship in the harbour of Hercules on his way to Numantia, a cry was suddenly heard, " Stay, Mancinus! " When, after disembarking, he had later taken ship at Genoa, a snake that was found on the ship escaped from capture. The consul himself was defeated and not long after was handed over to the Numantines. (*Summary* LV; Valerius Maximus I. vi. 7.)

Consulship of Lucius Furius and Sextus Atilius Serranus B.C. 136

25. Regium was almost wholly consumed by fire without any trace of human malfeasance or carelessness. A maidservant bore a boy with four hands, feet, eyes, and ears, and double private parts. In the hot springs at Puteoli streams of blood issued. Several things were overthrown by lightning. The boy was burned by order of the soothsayers, and his ashes were thrown into the sea. A Roman army was cut to pieces by the Vaccaei. (*Summary* LVI.)

A.U.C. 619

SER. FLACCO Q. CALPURNIO COSS.

26. Mons Aetna maioribus solito arsit ignibus. Romae puer solidus posteriore naturae parte genitus. Bononiae fruges in arboribus natae. Bubonis vox primum in Capitolio dein circa urbem audita. Quae avis praemio posito ab aucupe capta combustaque; cinis eius in Tiberim dispersus. Bos locutus. In Numantinis res male gestae, exercitus Romanus oppressus.

A.U.C. 620

P. AFRICANO C. FULVIO COSS.

27. In Amiterno sol noctu visus, eiusque lux aliquamdiu fuit visa. Bos locutus et nutritus publice. Sanguine pluit. Anagniae servo tunica arsit et intermortuo igne nullum flammae apparuit vestigium. In Capitolio nocte avis gemitus similes hominis dedit. In aede Iunonis Reginae scutum Ligusticum fulmine tactum. Fugitivorum bellum in Sicilia exortum, coniuratione servorum in [1] Italia oppressa.

A.U.C. 621

P. MUCIO L. PISONE COSS.[2]

27a. Tiberius Gracchus . . .[3] legibus ferendis occisus. Proditum est memoria Tiberium Gracchum,

[1] in *add. Jahn*: *om.* MS.
[2] P. Mucio L. Pisone coss. *add. Oudendorp*: *om.* MS.
[3] *lacunam ind. Jahn*: tr. pleb. *add. Rossbach*: in *add. Kornemann.*

CONSULSHIP OF SERVIUS FLACCUS AND QUINTUS CALPURNIUS B.C. 135

26. Mount Aetna flamed up with greater fires than usual. At Rome a boy was born without aperture in his fundament. At Bononia grain grew on trees. The cry of an owl was heard first on the Capitol and then about the city. After a reward had been offered this bird was caught by a fowler and burned; its ashes were scattered in the Tiber. An ox spoke. Before Numantia there was bad management and the Roman army was crushed. (*Summary* LVI; Orosius V. vi. 2–4; on the portent of grain, in general, cf. Pliny, *Natural History* XVIII. 166, and on owls, X. 34 f.)

CONSULSHIP OF PUBLIUS AFRICANUS AND GAIUS FULVIUS B.C. 134

27. In Amiternum the sun was seen by night, and its light appeared for some length of time. An ox spoke, and was maintained at the public charge. There was a rain of blood. At Anagnia the tunic of a slave blazed up, and when the fire had died out no trace of flame was visible. On the Capitol at night a bird uttered groans which sounded human. In the temple of Queen Juno a Ligurian shield was struck by lightning. Runaway slaves began a war in Sicily, after a conspiracy of slaves in Italy had been crushed. (*Summary* LVI.)

CONSULSHIP OF PUBLIUS MUCIUS AND LUCIUS PISO B.C. 133

27a. Tiberius Gracchus was killed in connection with the passage of certain laws. It is preserved in the record that Tiberius Gracchus, on the day he

A.U.C. 621 quo die periit, tristia neglexisse omina, cum domi et in Capitolio sacrificanti dira portenderentur, domoque exiens sinistro ad limen offenso pede decusserit pollicem, et corvi fragmentum tegulae ante pedes eius proiecerint[1] ex stillicidio. In lacu Romano lacte rivi manarunt. Lunae terra quattuor iugerum spatio in profundum abiit et mox de caverna lacum reddidit. Ardeae terra pluit. Minturnis lupus vigilem laniavit et inter tumultum effugit. Romae bubo et alia avis ignota visa. In aede Iunonis Reginae clausis per biduum valvis infantis vox audita. Scuta novo sanguine maculata. Puella quadrupes nata. In agro Ferentino androgynus natus et in flumen deiectus. Virgines ter novenae canentes urbem lustraverunt.

A.U.C. 622 P. Popillio P. Rupilio coss.[2]

27b. In Italia multa milia servorum quae coniuraverant aegre comprehensa et supplicio consumpta. In Sicilia fugitivi Romanos exercitus necaverunt. Numantia diruta.

A.U.C. 624 Ap. Claudio M. Perperna coss.

28. Reate mulus cum quinque pedibus natus. Romae in Graecostasi[3] lacte pluit. Lupus et canis

[1] proiecerint *Stephanus*: proiecerunt MS.
[2] P. Popillio P. Rupilio coss. *ad. Oudendorp*: *om.* MS.
[3] Graecostasi *Munker*: agro Cortasi MS.

died, disregarded unfavourable omens, when evil was foreshadowed at his sacrifices both at home and on the Capitol. Furthermore, as he left his home he struck his left foot against the threshold and dislocated the great toe, and crows dropped a bit of tile from a rain-channel before his feet. In the Roman Pool streams of milk flowed. At Luna the earth over an area of two and a half acres disappeared into an abyss and presently produced a pool from the depths. At Ardea there was a rain of earth. At Minturnae a wolf slashed a watchman and escaped in the confusion. At Rome an owl was seen, as well as another and unknown bird. In the temple of Queen Juno the cry of a baby was heard for two days through the closed doors. Shields were stained with fresh blood. A girl was born with four feet. In Ferentine territory a hermaphrodite was born and cast into the river. Thrice nine maidens sang a chant and purified the city. (*Summary* LVIII; Plutarch, *Tiberius Gracchus* xvii; Valerius Maximus I. iv. 2 [3].) B.C. 133

Consulship of Publius Popillius and Publius Rupilius B.C. 132

27b. In Italy many thousand slaves who entered into a conspiracy were with difficulty arrested and destroyed by punishment. In Sicily the runaway slaves put Roman armies to death. Numantia was rased. (*Summary* LIX.)

Consulship of Appius Claudius and Marcus Perperna B.C. 130

28. At Reate a mule with five feet was born. At Rome there was a rain of milk in the Graecostasis.

A.U.C. 624 Hostiae pugnantes fulmine exanimati. Grex ovium in Apulia uno ictu fulmine exanimatus. Praetor populi Romani fulmine exanimatus. Terracinae sereno navis velum fulmine in aqua deiectum,[1] et impensas omnis quae ibi erant ignis absumpsit. Publius Crassus adversus Aristonicum dimicans occisus. Apollinis simulacrum lacrimavit per quadriduum. Vates portenderunt Graeciae fore exitium, unde deductum esset. Sacrificatum tum a Romanis donaque in templo posita. Phrygia recepta Asia Attali testamento legata Romanis. Antiocho regi Syriae ingenti exercitu dimicanti hirundines in tabernaculo nidum fecerunt. Quo prodigio neglecto proelium commisit et a Parthis occisus est.

A.U.C. 625

C. Sempronio M'. Aquilio coss.[2]

28a. . . . M. Fulvii Flacci triumviri . . . dissensione in legibus ferendis . . .[3] Angues duo nigri in cella Minervae allapsi civilem caedem portenderunt.

[1] Grex ovium in Apulia uno ictu fulmine exanimatus. Praetor populi Romani fulmine exanimatus. Terracinae sereno navis velum fulmine in aqua deiectum *Schlesinger*; Grex ovium in Apulia praetor populi Romani uno ictu fulmine exanimatus. Tarracinae sereno navis velum fulmine exanimatum in aquam deiectum MS : Grex ovium in Apulia fulmine exanimatus. Praetor populi Romani uno ictu fulmine exanimatus. Terracinae sereno navis velum in aqua deiectum *Rossbach*.

At Ostia a wolf and a dog were killed by lightning while fighting. A flock of sheep in Apulia was killed by a single stroke of lightning. A praetor of the Roman People was killed by lightning. At Terracina the sail of a ship was thrown into the water by lightning from a clear sky, and fire swept away all the stores which were there. Publius Crassus lost his life fighting against Aristonicus. The statue of Apollo wept for four days. Soothsayers prophesied that destruction would fall on Greece, whence the statue had been brought. A sacrifice was offered at that time by the Romans, and gifts were deposited in the temple. When Phrygia had been recovered, western Asia Minor was bequeathed to the Romans by the will of Attalus. When Antiochus, King of Syria, was on campaign with a huge army, swallows built a nest in his tent. He failed to heed this portent, joined battle, and was slain by the Parthians. (Attalus, *Summary* LIX; Apollo, Augustine, *City of God* III. 11; Dio XXIV. fr. 84. 2; Antiochus, Diodorus XXXIV–V. 15–17; Justinus XXXVIII. x. 9–10; Appian, *Syrian Wars* xi. 68.) B.C. 130

Consulship of Gaius Sempronius and Manius Aquilius B.C. 129

28a. . . . of Marcus Fulvius Flaccus of the Board of Three . . . discord over the passage of laws . . . Two black snakes slipped into the sanctuary of Minerva's temple, portending a slaughter of citizens. (*Summary* LIX.)

[2] C. Sempronio M'. Aquilio coss. *add. Jahn* : *om.* MS.
[3] *lacunas indicaverunt Jahn et H. J. Mueller.*

A.U.C. 628

M. AEMILIO L. AURELIO COSS.

29. Nocturna tempestate in Capitolio aliquot templa concussa sunt. Romae et circa fulmine pleraque deiecta sunt. Aetna mons terrae motu ignes super verticem late diffudit, et ad insulas[1] Liparas mare efferbuit et quibusdam adustis navibus vapore plerosque navalis exanimavit, piscium vim magnam exanimem dispersit, quos Liparenses avidius epulis appetentes contaminatione ventris consumpti, ita ut nova pestilentia vastarentur insulae. Quod prodigium aruspicum responso seditionem, quae post tempora ea fuit,[2] portendit.

A.U.C. 629

M.[3] PLAUTIO M. FULVIO COSS.

30. In arboribus fruges natae sunt. Oleo et lacte in Veiente pluit. Bubo in Capitolio visus. Arpis lapideus imber triduo . . .[4] apparuit locustarum ingenti agmine in Africa, quae a vento in mare deiectae fluctibusque eiectae odore intolerabili Cyrenis mortiferoque[5] vapore gravem pestilentiam fecerunt pecori; hominumque DCCC milia consumpta tabe proditum est. Fregellae, quae adversus Romanos coniuraverunt, dirutae. Ligures Sallyes trucidati.

[1] insulas *Jahn*: insulam MS.
[2] ea fuit *Rossbach*: patuit MS.: tempore patuit *Jahn*.
[3] M. *Oudendorp*: P. MS.
[4] *lacunam ind. Scheffer*: cecidit; vis *add. Haupt*.
[5] mortiferoque *Jahn*: mortifero MS.

CONSULSHIP OF MARCUS AEMILIUS AND LUCIUS AURELIUS B.C. 126

29. During a storm at night many temples on the Capitol were shaken. At Rome and near by several things were overthrown by lightning. Mount Aetna, with an earthquake, scattered fire far and wide around its summit, and near the Liparae Islands the sea boiled up, burned certain ships, and stifled several mariners with fumes; it scattered about a large amount of dead fish. The Liparians took to them too greedily at their feasts, and were carried off by a poisoning of the stomach, so that the islands were devastated by an unheard-of plague. This portent, according to the answer of the soothsayers, prophesied the civil strife that occurred after these times. (Volcanism, Orosius V. x. 11; Strabo VI. ii. 11 [277]; Pliny, *Natural History* II. 203 [88].)

CONSULSHIP OF MARCUS PLAUTIUS AND MARCUS FULVIUS B.C. 125

30. Grain grew on trees. There was a rain of oil and milk in the neighbourhood of Veii. An owl was seen on the Capitol. At Arpi there was a rain of stones for three days . . . locusts appeared in a great swarm in Africa; when hurled into the sea by the wind and cast up by the waves, they produced by their unbearable stench and deadly effluvium a serious plague among livestock at Cyrene, and eight hundred thousand persons are reported to have been carried off by the putrefaction. Fregellae, which had conspired against the Romans, was rased. The Ligurian Sallyes were slaughtered. (*Summary* LX; locusts, Augustine, *City of God* III. 31; Orosius V. xi. 1–7; Fregellae, Velleius II. vi. 4.)

A.U.C. 630

C. Cassio Longino C. Sextio [1] coss.

31. In Graecostasi lacte pluit. Fulmine Crotone grex ovium cum cane et tribus pastoribus exanimatus. Saturae vitulus biceps natus. Tumultus in urbe fuit C.[2] Graccho leges ferente.

A.U.C. 632

Cn. Domitio C. Fannio coss.

32. In foro Vessano androgynus natus in mare delatus est. In Gallia tres soles et tres lunae visae. Vitulus biceps natus. Bubo in Capitolio visus. Aetnae [3] incendio Catina [4] consumpta. Sallyes et Allobroges devicti.

A.U.C. 633

L. Opimio Q. Fabio Maximo coss.

33. Grex luporum limites qui in agrorum divisione per C. Gracchum depositi erant dissipavit. Ipse Gracchus in Aventino occisus.

A.U.C. 635

L. Aurelio Cotta [5] L. Caecilio coss.

34. Androgynus in agro Romano annorum octo inventus et in mare deportatus. Virgines ter novenae in urbe cantarunt.

[1] Sextio *Hearn*: Sextilio MS.
[2] C. *add. Jahn*: *om.* MS.
[3] Aetnae *Oudendorp*: et ex MS.
[4] Catina *Oudendorp*: cathena MS.
[5] Cotta *Jahn*: et MS.

[1] This town-name does not appear elsewhere; "Saturnia" was suggested by Scaliger, "Astura" by Cluver.

Consulship of Gaius Cassius Longinus and Gaius Sextius B.C. 124

31. In the Graecostasis there was a rain of milk. At Croton a flock of sheep with the dog and three shepherds perished by lightning. At Satura [1] a two-headed calf was born. There was rioting in Rome over the legislation of Gaius Gracchus. (*Summary* LX.)

Consulship of Gnaeus Domitius and Gaius Fannius B.C. 122

32. In Forum Vessanum a hermaphrodite was born and was removed to the sea. In Gaul three suns and three moons were seen. A two-headed calf was born. An owl was seen on the Capitol. Catana was burned in an eruption of Aetna. The Sallyes and Allobroges were conquered. (*Summary* LXI; Orosius V. xiii. 3; Augustine, *City of God* III. 31; Pliny, *Natural History* II. 99.)

Consulship of Lucius Opimius and Quintus Fabius Maximus B.C. 121

33. A pack of wolves scattered the boundary-stones which had been set up during the division of properties by Gaius Gracchus. Gracchus himself was slain on the Aventine. (*Summary* LXI.)

Consulship of Lucius Aurelius Cotta and Lucius Caecilius B.C. 119

34. A hermaphrodite eight years old was found in Roman territory and was carried away to sea. Thrice nine maidens performed a chant in the city.

A.U.C. 636

M. Catone Q. Marcio [1] coss.

35. Catone consule immolante exta tabuerunt, caput iocineris inventum non est. Lacte pluit. Terra cum mugitu tremuit. Examen apum in foro consedit. Sacrificium ex Sibyllinis.

A.U.C. 637

L. Caecilio L. Aurelio coss.

36. Fulmine Romae et circa pleraque tacta. Praeneste lacte pluit. Hastae Martis in regia motae. Priverni terra septem iugerum spatio in caverna desedit. Saturniae androgynus annorum decem inventus et mari demersus. Virgines viginti septem urbem carmine lustraverunt. Reliquum anni in pace fuit.

M'.[2] Acilio C. Porcio coss.

A.U.C. 640

37. P. Elvius [3] eques Romanus a ludis Romanis cum in Apuliam [4] reverteretur, in agro Stellati filia eius virgo equo insidens fulmine icta exanimataque, vestimento deducto in inguinibus, exserta lingua, per inferiores locos ut ignis ad os emicuerit. Responsum

[1] Q. Marcio *Lycosthenes*: Quintio Marcio MS.
[2] M'. *Hearn*: M. MS.
[3] P. Elvius *Mommsen*: Pompeius Eluius MS.
[4] Apuliam *Scheffer*: Apulia MS.

[1] This name has perhaps strayed from the year 119, cf. above; the second consul was actually Quintus Mucius Scaevola.

Consulship of Marcus Cato and Quintus Marcius — B.C. 118

35. When Consul Cato offered sacrifice, the entrails melted away, and no head was found on the liver. There was a rain of milk. The earth quaked with a bellowing sound. A swarm of bees settled in the forum. Sacrifice was offered in accordance with the Sibylline Books.

Consulship of Lucius Caecilius and Lucius Aurelius [1] — B.C. 117

36. Several things were damaged by lightning in Rome and near by. At Praeneste there was a rain of milk. The spears of Mars in the Regia moved. At Privernum the earth sank into a hollow over an area of four and a half acres. At Saturnia a hermaphrodite ten years old was found and sunk in the sea. Twenty-seven maidens purified the city with a chant. The rest of the year was peaceful. (Privernum, Cicero, *On Divination* I. xliii. 97, a passage mentioning many other prodigies, including the three moons, above, 32.)

Consulship of Manius Acilius and Gaius Porcius — B.C. 114

37. When Publius Elvius, a Roman knight, was returning to Apulia from the Roman Games, on the Stellate Plain his maiden daughter, while riding horseback, was struck lifeless by a thunderbolt, her dress was pulled awry to her groin, and her tongue protruded, as if the lightning had flashed over her lower limbs to her mouth. The soothsayers' answer

A.U.C. 640 infamiam virginibus et equestri ordini portendi, quia equi ornamenta dispersa erant. Tres uno tempore virgines Vestales nobilissimae cum aliquot equitibus Romanis incesti poenas subierunt. Aedes Veneri Verticordiae facta.

A.U.C. 641

C. Caecilio Cn. Papirio coss.

38. Albanus mons nocte ardere visus. Aedicula et signum de caelo tacta. Ara Salutis interrupta. Terra in Lucanis et Privernati late hiavit. In Gallia caelum ardere visum. Cimbri Teutonique Alpes transgressi foedam stragem Romanorum sociorumque fecerunt.

A.U.C. 643

P. Scipione L. Calpurnio coss.

39. Maxima pars urbis exusta cum aede Matris Magnae. Lacte per triduum pluit, hostiisque expiatum maioribus. Iugurthinum bellum exortum.

was that disgrace to virgins and to the order of knights was prophesied, since the trappings of the horse were scattered about. Three Vestal Virgins of most distinguished families, along with several Roman knights, at this one time suffered punishment for breach of chastity. A temple was built to Venus, Turner of Hearts. (*Summary* LXIII; Orosius V. xv. 20–22 [325 f.]; Plutarch, *Roman Questions* 83; Dio XXVI. fr. 87; Verticordia, cf. Ovid, *Fasti* IV. 157–60.) B.C. 114

Consulship of Gaius Caecilius and Gnaeus Papirius B.C. 113

38. The Alban Mount seemed to be on fire by night. A small shrine and a statue were struck by lightning. The altar of Safety was broken. Wide cracks in the earth appeared in Lucania and the neighbourhood of Privernum. In Gaul the sky appeared to be on fire. The Cimbri and Teutoni crossed the Alps and inflicted a shameful slaughter on the Romans and their allies. (Pliny, *Natural History* II. 100 [33]; cf. *Summary* LXIII.—The Cimbri entered Illyricum.

Consulship of Publius Scipio and Lucius Calpurnius B.C. 111

39. A very large part of the city was burned out, along with the temple of the Great Mother. There was a rain of milk for three days, and expiation was made with full-grown victims. The war with Jugurtha began. (*Summary* LXIV.)

A.U.C. 646

SERVIO[1] GALBA M. SCAURO COSS.

40. Avis incendiaria et bubo in urbe[2] visae. In laotomiis homo ab homine adesus. Ex Sibyllinis in insula Cimolia sacrificatum per triginta ingenuos patrimos et matrimos totidemque virgines. Multa milia hominum intumescente Pado et stagno Arretino obruta. Bis lacte pluit. Nursiae gemini ex muliere ingenua nati, puella integris omnibus membris, puer a parte priore alvo aperto ita ut nudum intestinum conspiceretur, idem posteriore natura solidus natus, qui voce missa expiravit. Contra Iugurtham prospere dimicatum.

A.U.C. 648

Q. SERVILIO CAEPIONE C.[3] ATILIO SERRANO COSS.

41. Amiterni cum ex ancilla puer nasceretur, ave dixit.[4] In agro Perusino et Romae locis aliquot lacte pluit. Inter multa fulmine icta Atellis digiti hominis quattuor tamquam ferro praecisi. Argentum signatum afflatu fulminis diffluxit. In agro Trebulano mulier nupta civi Romano fulmine icta nec exanimata. Fremitus caelestis auditus et pila caelo cadere visa. Sanguine pluit. Romae interdiu fax

[1] Servio *Broughton*: Sergio MS., *cf. Orosius IV. xxi. 3, 10.*
[2] urbe *Stephanus*: urbem MS.
[3] C. *add. Oudendorp*: *om.* MS.
[4] dixit *Scheffer*: dixit P. Sarrano G. Atilio Coss. MS.

CONSULSHIP OF SERVIUS GALBA AND MARCUS SCAURUS B.C. 108

40. A firebird and an owl were seen in the city. In the quarries one man was devoured by another. In accordance with the Sibylline Books, sacrifice was offered on Cimolos Island by thirty freeborn boys with living fathers and mothers, and as many maidens. Many thousand persons were overwhelmed in floods of the Po and the lake of Arretium. Twice there was a rain of milk. At Nursia twins were born to a free woman, a girl with all her members intact, and a boy with his belly open in front so that the bare intestine could be seen, whereas at the rear the child was without opening; he gave a cry and breathed his last. An encounter with Jugurtha was successful. (Firebird, Pliny, *Natural History* X. 36 [xvii].—Pliny cannot identify the bird; Jugurtha, *Summary* LXV.)

CONSULSHIP OF QUINTUS SERVILIUS CAEPIO AND GAIUS ATILIUS SERRANUS B.C. 106

41. At Amiternum, as a boy was being born to a serving-woman, he cried "Hail!" In the neighbourhood of Perusia and at several points in Rome there was a rain of milk. Among many things struck by lightning, at Atellae four of a man's fingers were cut off as if with a knife. Coined silver flowed away under a bolt of lightning. In the neighbourhood of Trebula a woman married to a Roman citizen was struck by lightning, but survived. An uproar in the sky was heard, and javelins seemed to fall from heaven. There was a rain of blood. At Rome a meteor was seen by day flying aloft. In the

A.U.C. 648 sublime volans conspecta. In aede Larum flamma a fastigio ad summum columen penetravit innoxia. Per Caepionem consulem senatorum et equitum iudicia communicata. Cetera in pace fuerunt.

A.U.C. 649

P. Rutilio Cn. Manlio coss.[1]

42. Trebulae Mutuscae ante quam ludi committerentur, canente tibicine angues nigri aram circumdederunt, desinente cantare dilapsi. Postero die exorti a populo lapidibus enecati. Foribus templi adapertis simulacrum Martis ligneum capite stans inventum. A Lusitanis exercitus Romanus caesus.

A.U.C. 650

C. Mario C. Flavio[2] coss.

43. Bubo extra urbem visus. Bos locuta. Trebulae Mutuscae simulacrum in templo, quod capite adaperto[3] fuit, opertum inventum. Nuceriae ulmus vento eversa sua sponte erecta in radicem convaluit. In Lucanis lacte, Lunae sanguine pluit. Arimini canis locutus. Arma caelestia tempore utroque[4] ab ortu et occasu visa pugnare et ab occasu vinci.

[1] Rutilio Cn. Manlio *Oudendorp*: Atilio et Cornelio Manilio MS.
[2] Flavio *Oudendorp*: Flacc. MS.
[3] adaperto *Heinsius*: adoperto MS.
[4] *sic* MS.: Tuderte Ameriaeque *Rossbach in scholio.*

[1] If this curious phrase is correct, it might mean either "night and morning," or "by day and by night," as Scheffer suggests; other editors emend the text, Rossbach taking the reading "at Tuder and Ameria" from the accounts of Pliny and Plutarch (see references below, and the critical note).

temple of the Lares a flame penetrated from the roof-top to the top of a column without doing damage. By the agency of Consul Caepio, juries were divided between the senate and the knights. Otherwise peaceful conditions prevailed. (Juries, Cicero, *Brutus* xliv. 161, 164; Cassiodorus, a.u.c. 648 = Livy, fr. (i) Hertz.) B.C. 106

Consulship of Publius Rutilius and Gnaeus Manlius B.C. 105

42. At Trebula Mutusca before the games were opened, as the flute-player was performing, black snakes surrounded the altar, but slipped away when he ceased to play. The next day they came out and were stoned to death by the people. When the doors of his temple were opened, a wooden statue of Mars was found standing on its head. A Roman army was slaughtered by the Lusitanians. (Snakes, Granius Licinianus xxxiii, p. 13 Flemisch.)

Consulship of Gaius Marius and Gaius Flavius B.C. 104

43. An owl was seen outside Rome. A cow spoke. At Trebula Mutusca an image in a temple, the head of which had been bare, was found veiled. At Nuceria an elm, overturned by the wind, straightened upon its root of its own accord and regained its strength. In Lucania there was a rain of milk, at Luna, of blood. At Ariminum a dog spoke. Weapons in the sky seemed to join battle at both times of day[1] from east and west; those from the west appeared to suffer defeat. According to an answer of the soothsayers, the people brought a

A.U.C. 650 Aruspicum responso populus stipem Cereri et Proserpinae tulit. Virgines viginti septem dona canentes tulerunt. Luna interdiu cum stella ab hora tertia usque ad horam septimam apparuit. A fugitivis et desertoribus in Thurinis regiones vastatae. Cimbri Alpes transgressi post [1] Hispaniam vastatam iunxerunt se Teutonis. Lupus urbem intravit. Fulminis ictu vultures super turrem exanimati. Hora diei tertia solis defectus lucem obscuravit. Examen apium ante aedem Salutis consedit. In comitio lacte pluit. In Piceno tres soles visi. In agro Vulsiniensi flamma e terra orta caelumque visa contingere. In Lucanis duo agni equinis pedibus nati, alter siminino capite. In Tarquiniensi lactis rivi terra scaturienti exorti.[2] Aruspicum responso signa oleaginea duo armata statuta supplicatumque. In Macedonia Thraces subacti.

A.U.C. 652 C. Mario Q. Lutatio coss.

44. Novemdiale sacrum fuit, quod in Tuscis lapidibus pluerat. Urbs aruspicum iussu lustrata. Hostiarum cinis per decemviros in mare dispersus, et per dies novem per magistratus circa omnia templa [3] et municipia pompa ducta supplicantum. Hastae Martis in regia sua sponte motae. Sanguine circa

[1] post *Burmann*: per MS.
[2] exorti *Stephanus*: exorta MS.
[3] per magistratus circa omnia templa *Rossbach* circa omnia templa per magistratus MS.: *fortasse* per *ante* municipia *addendum Rossbach.*

collection to Ceres and Proserpina. Twenty-seven B.C. 104 maidens, chanting, brought gifts. The moon and a star appeared by day from the third to the seventh hour. Territory near Thurii was ravaged by runaway slaves and deserters. The Cimbri crossed the Alps after ravaging Spain, and united with the Teutoni. A wolf entered Rome. Vultures on a tower were struck dead by a lightning bolt. At the third hour of the day an eclipse of the sun brought on darkness. A swarm of bees settled in front of the temple of Safety. In the voting-ground there was a rain of milk. In Picenum three suns were seen. In the neighbourhood of Volsinii flame rising from the ground seemed to touch the sky. In Lucania two lambs were born with horses' feet; one of them had the head of a monkey. Near Tarquinii streams of milk sprang copiously from the earth. According to an answer from the soothsayers two armed olive-wood statues were set up and prayer was offered. In Macedonia the Thracians were subdued. (Cimbri, *Summary* LXVII; battle in sky, Plutarch, *Marius* xvii. 4; Pliny, *Natural History* II. lviii [148].)

Consulship of Gaius Marius and Quintus Lutatius B.C. 102

44. A nine-day ceremony was observed because it had rained stones in Etruria. The city was purified, by order of the soothsayers. The ashes of the victims were scattered in the sea by the Board of Ten, and for nine days a procession of suppliants was led by magistrates about all the temples and the outlying towns. The spears of Mars in the Regia moved of their own accord. There was a rain of blood

A.U.C. 652 amnem Anienem pluit. Examen apium in foro boario in sacello consedit. In Gallia in castris lux nocte fulsit. Puer ingenuus Ariciae flamma comprehensus nec ambustus. Aedes Iovis clusa fulmine icta. Cuius expiationem quia primus [1] monstraverat Aemilius Potensis aruspex, praemium tulit, ceteris celantibus quod ipsis liberisque exitium portenderetur. Piratae in Cilicia [2] a Romanis deleti. Teutoni a Mario trucidati.

A.U.C. 653 C. Mario M'. Aquilio coss.[3]

44a. Ancilia cum crepitu sua sponte mota. Servus Q.[4] Servilii Caepionis Matri [5] Idaeae se praecidit, et trans mare exportatus, ne umquam Romae reverteretur. Urbs lustrata. Capra cornibus ardentibus per urbem ducta, porta Naevia emissa relictaque. In Aventino luto pluit. Lusitanis devictis Hispania ulterior pacata. Cimbri deleti.

A.U.C. 654 C. Mario L. Valerio coss.

45. Fax ardens Tarquiniis late visa subito lapsu cadens. Sub occasu solis orbis clipei similis ab occi-

[1] primus *Scheffer*: prius MS.
[2] Cilicia *Sigonius*: Sicilia MS.
[3] C. Mario M'. Aquilio coss. *add. Oudendorp*: *om.* MS.
[4] Q. *Jahn*: que MS.
[5] Matri *Pighius*: matris MS.

around the Anio River. A swarm of bees settled in a shrine in the Cattle-Market. In a camp in Gaul a light shone at night. A freeborn boy at Aricia was enveloped in flame but not consumed. The temple of Jupiter, while closed, was struck by lightning. The expiation for this was first explained by the soothsayer Aemilius Potensis, and for this he received a reward; the other soothsayers had kept it secret because destruction of themselves and their children was portended. The pirates in Cilicia were wiped out by the Romans. The Teutoni were slaughtered by Marius. (*Summary* LXVIII; Plutarch, *Marius* xx f.) B.C. 102

Consulship of Gaius Marius and Manius Aquilius B.C. 101

44a. The sacred shields rattled and moved of their own accord. A slave of Quintus Servilius Caepio emasculated himself in devotion to the Great Mother, and was shipped across the sea, that he might never return to Rome. The city was purified. A she-goat with horns afire was led through the city, expelled by the Naevian Gate, and abandoned. On the Aventine it rained mud. The Lusitanians were subdued, and Farther Spain enjoyed peace. The Cimbri were wiped out. (*Summary* LXVIII; Plutarch, *Marius* xxv–xxvii.)

Consulship of Gaius Marius and Lucius Valerius B.C. 100

45. A blazing meteor was seen far and wide at Tarquinii, falling in a sudden plunge. At sunset a circular object like a shield was seen to sweep across

A.U.C. 654 dente ad orientem visus perferri.[1] In Piceno terrae motu domicilia ruinis prostrata, quaedam convulsa sede sua inclinata manserunt. Fremitus armorum ex inferno auditus. Quadrigae auratae in foro a pedibus sudaverunt. Fugitivi in Sicilia proeliis trucidati.

A.U.C. 655 M. Antonio A. Postumio coss.

46. Bubone in urbe visa urbs lustrata. Nimbis et procella plurima dissipata, fulmine pleraque tacta. Lanuvii in aede Iunonis Sospitae in cubiculo deae sanguinis guttae visae. Nursiae aedes sacra terrae motu disiecta. Lusitani rebellantes subacti. Sex. Titius[2] tribunus plebis de agris dividendis populo cum repugnantibus collegis pertinaciter legem ferret, corvi duo numero in alto volantes ita pugnaverunt supra contionem ut rostris unguibusque lacerarentur. Aruspices sacra Apollini[3] litanda et de lege, quae ferebatur, supersedendum pronuntiarunt. Fremitus ab inferno ad caelum ferri visus inopiam famemque portendit. Populus stipem, matronae thesaurum et virgines dona Cereri et Proserpinae tulerunt. Per virgines viginti septem

[1] perferri *Scheffer*: praeferri MS.
[2] Sex. Titius *Pighius*: Sextius MS.
[3] Apollini *Scheffer*: Apollinis MS.

from west to east. In Picenum houses were flattened in pieces by an earthquake, while some, torn from their foundations, remained standing out of plumb. A clash of arms was heard from the depths of the earth. Gilded four-horse chariots in the Forum sweated at the feet. The runaway slaves in Sicily were butchered in battles. (Shield in sky, Pliny, *Natural History* II. 34 [100]; Sicily, *Summary* LXIX; Joannes Lydus, *On Signs* 4 [16].) B.C. 100

Consulship of Marcus Antonius and Aulus Postumius B.C. 99

46. When an owl was sighted in Rome, the city was purified. A great deal of damage was done by rain and wind, and several things were struck by lightning. At Lanuvium in the temple of Juno the Deliverer, drops of blood were seen in the chamber of the goddess. At Nursia a holy temple was broken apart by an earthquake. The Lusitanians took up arms again and were subdued. Sextus Titius, a tribune of the commons, persisted in offering legislation for the distribution of land against the opposition of his colleagues; thereupon crows, two in number, flying aloft fought so fiercely over the assembly as to tear each other with beak and claw. The soothsayers declared that a propitiatory offering should be made to Apollo, and that action on the law which was being proposed should be abandoned. A roar that seemed to rise from the depths of the earth to the sky foretold scarcity and famine. The people brought a collection, the matrons an offering of valuables, the maidens other gifts to Ceres and Proserpina. A chant was sung by twenty-seven maidens. Two

A.U.C. 655 cantitatum. Signa cupressea duo Iunoni Reginae posita. In Lusitania prospere a Romanis pugnatum.

A.U.C. 656 Q. METELLO T.[1] DIDIO coss.

47. Bubone in Capitolio supra deorum simulacra viso cum piaretur, taurus victima exanimis concidit. Fulmine pleraque decussa. Hastae Martis in regia motae. Ludis in theatro creta candida pluit; fruges et tempestates portendit bonas. Sereno tonuit. Apud aedem Apollinis decemviris immolantibus caput iocineris non fuit, sacrificantibus anguis ad aram inventus. Item androgynus in mare deportatus. In circo inter pila militum ignis fusus. Hispani pluribus proeliis devicti.

A.U.C. 657 CN. CORNELIO LENTULO P. LICINIO coss.

48. Supplicatum in urbe quod androgynus inventus et in mare deportatus erat. Pisauri terrae fremitus auditus. Muri pinnae sine terrae motu passim deiectae civiles portendere discordias. Nursiae simulacrum Iovis in partem sinistram conversum. Cupressea simulacra Iunonis Reginae posita per

[1] T. *Oudendorp*: Tullio MS.

images of cypress were dedicated to Juno the Queen. In Lusitania the Romans conducted a successful campaign. (Titius, Valerius Maximus VIII. i. *damn.* 3, and cf. Cicero, *de Legibus* II. xii. 31 and vi. 14; *de Oratore* II. xi. 48; *Brutus* lxii. 225.) B.C. 99

CONSULSHIP OF QUINTUS METELLUS AND TITUS DIDIUS B.C. 98

47. An owl was sighted on the Capitol above the images of the gods; while expiatory offerings were being made, the bull which was being offered dropped dead. Many things were overthrown by lightning. The spears of Mars in the Regia moved. During a festival it rained white chalk in the theatre; this foretold good crops and good weather. There was thunder from a clear sky. In the temple of Apollo, as the Board of Ten was offering sacrifice, no head appeared on the liver; as they made further sacrifice, a snake was found at the altar. Likewise a hermaphrodite was carried away to sea. In the circus fire flared on the pikes of the soldiers. The Spaniards were subdued in several battles. (Static electricity in circus, cf. Seneca, *Investigations into Nature* I. 1. 14.)

CONSULSHIP OF GNAEUS CORNELIUS LENTULUS AND PUBLIUS LICINIUS B.C. 97

48. Prayers were offered in Rome because a hermaphrodite was discovered and carried out to sea. At Pisaurum a roaring in the earth was heard. The overthrow of the battlements of walls at many places, when there was no earthquake, foretold civil strife. At Nursia the image of Jupiter turned to the left. Images of cypress wood were set up to Juno

A.U.C. 657 virgines viginti septem, quae urbem lustraverunt. Celtiberi Maedi [1] Dardani subacti.

A.U.C. 658

CN. DOMITIO C. CASSIO COSS.

49. Lupus urbem ingressus in domo privata occisus. Bubo in Capitolio occisus. Fulmine pleraque decussa. Signa aurata Iovis cum capite columnaque disiecta. Faesulis sanguine terra manavit. Arretii mulieri e naso spicae farris natae, eadem farris grana vomuit. Urbe lustrata Ptolomaeus, rex Aegypti, Cyrenis mortuus S.P.Q. Romanum heredem reliquit.

A.U.C. 659

L.[2] CRASSO Q. SCAEVOLA COSS.

50. Caere lacte pluit. Lebadiae Eutychides in templum Iovis Trophonii degressus [3] tabulam aeneam extulit, in qua scripta erant quae ad res Romanas pertinerent. Fulminis afflatu pleraque animalia exanimata. Venafri hiatu terra alte subsedit. Vultures canem mortuum laniantes occisi ab aliis et comesi vulturibus. Agnus biceps, puer tribus manibus totidemque pedibus natus Ateste.[4] Hastae Martis in regia motae. Androgynus Urbino natus in mare deportatus. Pax domi forisque fuit.

[1] Maedi *Pighius*: Medi MS.
[2] L. *Jahn*: P. MS.
[3] degressus *Oudendorp*: digressus MS.
[4] Atcste *Rossbach*: At MS.: Atellae *Jahn*: *om. H. J. Mueller.*

[1] Scholars are not agreed whether *far* was true spelt (*triticum spelta*) or emmer (*triticum dicoccum*) or both. We may at least be sure that Obsequens was not scientifically precise. See N. Jasny, *The Wheats of Classical Antiquity*, Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1944, pp. 20, 120–3.

the Queen by twenty-seven maidens, who purified the city. The Celtiberians, Maedi, and Dardanians were overcome. (Celtiberians, *Summary* LXX.) B.C. 97

CONSULSHIP OF GNAEUS DOMITIUS AND GAIUS CASSIUS B.C. 96

49. A wolf entered Rome and was killed in a private house. An owl was killed on the Capitol. Several things were overthrown by lightning. Gilded statues of Jupiter were broken apart, along with their columns and capitals. At Faesulae blood trickled from the earth. At Arretium, ears of spelt [1] grew from a woman's nose, and she vomited kernels of spelt. After Rome had been purified, Ptolemy, King of Egypt, died at Cyrene and left the Roman senate and people as his heir. (*Summary* LXX.)

CONSULSHIP OF LUCIUS CRASSUS AND QUINTUS SCAEVOLA B.C. 95

50. At Caere there was a rain of milk. At Lebadea, Eutychides went down into the shrine of Jupiter Trophonius and brought out a bronze tablet, on which were inscribed matters concerning the state of Rome. Many animals were killed by blasts of lightning. At Venafrum the ground opened and sank down to a great depth. Vultures tearing a dead dog were killed and eaten by other vultures. A two-headed lamb and a boy with three hands and three feet were born at Ateste. The spears of Mars in the Regia moved. A hermaphrodite born at Urbinum was carried away to sea. Peace reigned at home and abroad. (Oracle of Trophonius, cf. XLV. xxvii. 8 and the note.)

A.U.C. 660

C. Caelio [1] L. Domitio coss.

51. Novemdiale sacrum fuit quod in Volsca gente lapidibus pluerat. Vulsiniis luna nova defecit et non nisi postero die hora tertia comparuit. Puella biceps, quadripes, quadrimana, gemina feminea natura mortua nata. Avis incendiaria visa occisaque. In Vestinis in villa lapidibus pluit. Fax in caelo apparuit et totum caelum ardere visum. Terra sanguine manavit et concrevit. Canes saxa tegulas vulgo roserunt. Faesulis ingens multitudo inter sepulcra lugubri veste, pallida facie interdiu ambulare gregatim visa. Per Nasicam Hispaniae principes qui rebellabant supplicio consumpti, urbibus dirutis.

A.U.C. 661

C. Valerio M. Herennio coss.

52. Romae et circa fulmine pleraque decussa. Ancilla puerum unimanum peperit. Fregellis aedes Neptuni nocte patefacta. Maris vituli cum exta demerentur, gemini vitelli in alvo eius inventi. Arretii signum aeneum Mercurii sudavit. In Lucanis gregem vervecum, cum pasceretur et nocte in stabulo, flamma circumdata nihil adussit. Carseolis torrens sanguinis fluxit. Lupi urbem ingressi. Praeneste lana volitavit. In Apulia mula peperit.

[1] Caelio *Hearn*: Laelio MS.

[1] For this meaning of *vitellus*, see Plautus, *Asinaria* 667 (but this may be a comic invention); the alternative is "egg yolks."

Consulship of Gaius Caelius and Lucius Domitius

B.C. 94

51. A nine-day ceremony was held because there had been a rain of stones among the Volscian people. At Volsinii a new moon was eclipsed and did not reappear till the third hour of the following day. A girl with two heads, four feet, four hands, and double female parts was born dead. A firebird was seen and killed. Among the Vestini it rained stones within a country house. A meteor appeared in the heavens, and the whole sky appeared to be on fire. The ground oozed blood and grew hard. Dogs gnawed stones and tiles at many points. At Faesulae a large crowd was seen among the graves, walking in a group by day with dark garments and pale faces. Under the leadership of Nasica the Spanish chieftains who revolted were disposed of by execution and their cities rased.

Consulship of Gaius Valerius and Marcus Herennius

B.C. 93

52. At Rome and near by many things were overthrown by lightning. A maidservant bore a son with only one hand. At Fregellae the temple of Neptune was thrown open by night. When the entrails of a bull-calf were being removed, twin calflets [1] were found in its belly. At Arretium a bronze statue of Mercury sweated. In Lucania flame surrounded, without burning anything, a flock of wethers, both while they were feeding and in the fold at night. At Carseoli a torrent of blood flowed. Wolves entered Rome. At Praeneste wool flew through the air. In Apulia a mule foaled. A kite was caught in the

A.U.C. 661 Milvus in aede Apollinis Romae comprehensus Herennio consuli bis immolanti caput iocineris defuit. In sacro novemdiali cena deae posita a cane adesa. antequam delibaretur. Vulsiniis prima luce flamma caelo emicare visa; cum in unum coisset, os flamma [1] ferrugineum ostendit, caelum visum discedere.[2] cuius hiatu vertices flammae apparuerunt. Lustrationibus prospere expiatum. Nam totus annus domi forisque tranquillus fuit.

A.U.C. 662

C. Claudio M. Perpenna coss.

53. Bubo in aede Fortunae Equestris comprehensus inter manus expiravit. Faesulis fremitus terrae auditus. Puer ex ancilla natus sine foramine naturae qua humor emittitur. Mulier duplici natura inventa. Fax in caelo visa. Bos locuta. Examen apium in culmine privatae domus consedit. Volaterris sanguinis rivus manavit. Romae lacte pluit. Arretii duo androgyni inventi. Pullus gallinaceus quadripes natus. Fulmine pleraque icta. Supplicatio fuit. Populus Cereri et Proserpinae stipem tulit. Virgines viginti septem carmen canentes urbem lustraverunt. Maedorum [3] in Macedonia gens provinciam cruente vastavit.

[1] flamma *Oudendorp*: flammae MS.
[2] discedere *Scheffer*: descendere MS.
[3] Maedorum *Scheffer*: Medorum MS.

temple of Apollo at Rome. Though Consul Herennius offered a second sacrifice, the head of the liver failed to appear. During a nine-day ceremony, the banquet spread for a goddess was devoured by a dog before it had been tasted. At Volsinii flame was seen to flash from the sky at dawn; after it had gathered together, the flame displayed a dark grey opening, and the sky seemed to divide; in the gap tongues of flame appeared. Expiation was successfully accomplished by ceremonies of purification. For the whole year was without disturbance at home and abroad. B.C. 93

Consulship of Gaius Claudius and Marcus Perpenna B.C. 92

53. An owl was caught in the temple of Knightly Fortune and breathed its last in the hands of its captors. At Faesulae a roaring in the ground was heard. A boy was born to a maidservant with no opening in his private parts where liquid is excreted. A woman was discovered with double private parts. A meteor was seen in the sky. A cow spoke. A swarm of bees settled on the gable of a private house. At Volaterrae a stream of blood flowed. At Rome it rained milk. At Arretium two hermaphrodites were discovered. A four-footed cock was born. Several things were struck by lightning. A day of prayer was held. The people brought a collection to Ceres and Proserpina. Twenty-seven maidens sang a chant and purified the city. The tribe of the Maedi in Macedonia caused bloody havoc in the province.

A.U.C. 663

L. Marcio Sex. Iulio coss.

54. Livio Druso tr. pl. leges ferente [1] cum bellum Italicum consurgeret, prodigia multa apparuerunt urbi. Sub ortu solis globus ignis a septemtrionali regione cum ingenti sono caeli emicuit. Arretii frangentibus panes cruor e mediis fluxit. In Vestinis per dies septem lapidibus testisque pluit. Aenariae terrae hiatu flamma exorta in caelum emicuit. Circa Regium terrae motu [2] pars urbis murique diruta. In Spoletino colore aureo globus ignis ad terram devolutus, maiorque factus e terra ad orientem ferri visus magnitudine solem [3] obtexit. Cumis [4] in arce simulacrum Apollinis sudavit. Aedis Pietatis in circo Flaminio clausa fulmine icta. Asculo [5] per ludos Romani trucidati. Cum ex agris in urbem pecora armentaque Latini agerent, strages hominum passim facta. Armenta in tantam rabiem concitata sunt ut vastando suos hostile imaginarentur bellum lacrimantesque canes [6] multis affectibus calamitatem praesagirent suis.

[1] Livio Druso tr. pl. leges ferente *Leopardus* : Libius Troso P. Tarquinius leges ferentes MS.
[2] terrae motu *ed. Basileensis prima* : terremota MS.
[3] magnitudine solem *Oudendorp* : magnitudinem Solis MS.
[4] Cumis *Scaliger* : Cuius MS.

Consulship of Lucius Marcius and Sextus Julius

B.C. 91

54. While the war of Italy was gathering during the legislative activity of Livius Drusus, tribune of the commons, many portents appeared in Rome. About sunrise a ball of fire flashed forth from the northern heavens with a great noise in the sky. At Arretium, as men were breaking loaves of bread, blood flowed from the middle of them. Among the Vestini there was a rain of stones and sherds for seven days. At Aenaria a flame rising from a crack in the ground flashed up to the sky. In an earthquake around Regium part of the city and of its wall was demolished. Near Spoletium a gold-coloured fireball rolled down to the ground; increased in size, it seemed to move off the ground towards the east, and was big enough to blot out the sun. In Cumae on the citadel an image of Apollo sweated. The temple of Duty in the Circus Flaminius was struck by lightning while closed. At Asculum during a festival the Romans were massacred. As the Latins were driving herds and flocks from the country to Rome, people perished on every side. The flocks were stirred to such madness that by ravaging their masters they foreshadowed a bitter war, and dogs weeping with many signs of emotion foretold disaster to their people. (*Summary* LXXI; Regium, Strabo VI. i. 6 [258]; omens, Orosius V. xviii; Augustine, *City of God* III. 23; Florus I. xxiv. 3; Cicero, *de Divinatione* I. xliv. 98 f.)

[5] Asculo *Scheffer* : A. Sylo MS.
[6] canes *add. in scholio Rossbach* : *om.* MS.

A.U.C. 664

L. Iulio Caesare P. Rutilio coss.

55. Metella Caecilia somnio Iunonem Sospitam profugientem, quod immunde sua templa foedarentur, cum suis precibus aegre revocatam diceret, aedem [1] matronarum sordidis obscenisque corporis coinquinatam ministeriis, in qua etiam sub simulacro deae cubile canis cum fetu erat,[2] commundatam supplicationibus habitis pristino splendore restituit. A Picentibus Romani barbaro more excruciati. Ubique in Latio clades accepta.[3] Rutilius [4] Lupus spretis religionibus, cum in extis caput non invenisset iocineris, amisso exercitu in proelio occisus.

A.U.C. 666

L. Sylla Q. Pompeio coss.

56. Pompedius Silo [5] in oppidum Bovianum, quod ceperat, triumphans invectus omen victoriae hostibus ostendit, quia triumphus in urbem victricem, non victam, induci solet. Proximo proelio amisso exercitu occisus. Mithridati adversus socios bellum paranti prodigia apparuerunt. Stratopedo, ubi senatus haberi solet, corvi vulturem tundendo rostris occiderunt. In eundem locum sidus ingens

[1] aedem . . . coinquinatam . . . in qua . . . commundatam *Oudendorp*: gregem . . . coinquinatum . . . in quo . . . commundatum MS.
[2] cum fetu erat *Scheffer*: confoetuerat MS.
[3] accepta *Scheffer*: accensa MS.
[4] Rutilius *Freinshem*: Lucilius MS.
[5] Pompedius Silo *Vossius*: Pompeius Sylo MS.

B.C. 90

Consulship of Lucius Julius Caesar and Publius Rutilius

55. Caecilia Metella related that she had dreamed that Juno the Deliverer was fleeing away because her precincts were being desecrated with filth, and that Metella had by her prayers with difficulty induced her to return. Metella cleaned out the temple, which was befouled by ladies' attention to dirty and vile physical needs, and in which under the very image of the goddess, a bitch had her lair and her litter; ceremonies of prayer were held, and the temple restored to its original lustre. Romans were barbarously tortured by the people of Picenum. Disaster befell everywhere in Latium. Rutilius Lupus scorned divine lore when he had failed to find the head of the liver among the entrails; he lost his army and fell in battle. (*Summary* LXXIII; Cicero, *de Divinatione* I. ii. 4; xliv. 99.)

B.C. 88

Consulship of Lucius Sulla and Quintus Pompeius

56. Pompedius Silo entered the city of Bovianum in triumphal procession after he had captured it; he thereby displayed an omen of victory for his enemies, because a triumphal procession is customarily led into the conquering city, not the conquered. In the next battle he lost his army and fell. As Mithridates was preparing for war against the allies of Rome, portents appeared to him. At Stratopedon,[1] where the senate usually meets, crows killed a vulture by striking it with their beaks. In the same place a

[1] This is not known as the name of a place; it means "the encampment," and may be an error; but it might be a portion of Rhodes, cf. the next note.

A.U.C. 664

L. Iulio Caesare P. Rutilio coss.

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[1] aedem . . . coinquinatam . . . in qua . . . commundatam *Oudendorp*: gregem . . . coinquinatum . . . in quo . . . commundatum MS.
[2] cum fetu erat *Scheffer*: confoetuerat MS.
[3] accepta *Scheffer*: accensa MS.
[4] Rutilius *Freinshem*: Lucilius MS.
[5] Pompedius Silo *Vossius*: Pompeius Sylo MS.

Consulship of Lucius Julius Caesar and Publius Rutilius B.C. 90

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Consulship of Lucius Sulla and Quintus Pompeius B.C. 88

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A.U.C. 666 caelo demissum. Isidis species visa sambucam [1] fulmine petere. Lucum Furiarum cum Mithridates succenderet, risus exauditus ingens sine auctore. Cum aruspicum iussu virginem Furiis immolaret, e iugulo puellae risus ortus turbavit sacrificium. Classis Mithridatis in Thessalia a Romanis [2] in proelio amissa.

A.U.C. 667 CN. OCTAVIO L. CINNA COSS.[3]

56a. Cinna et Mario per bella civilia crudeliter saevientibus Romae in castris Gnaei Pompei caelum ruere visum, arma signaque tacta, milites exanimati. Ipse Pompeius afflatus sidere interiit. Lectum eius populus diripuit, corpus unco traxit, quod discrimine civili perseverasset periclitanti patriae non succurrere, cum et imperium et maximos haberet exercitus.

[1] sambucam *add. Rossbach* : *om.* MS.
[2] *ita* MS. : a Romanis *om. H. J. Mueller* : a Rhodiis *Oudendorp* : incensa alia . . . demersa *Jahn.*
[3] Cn. Octavio L. Cinna coss. *Oudendorp* : *om.* MS.

[1] This was a special giant siege-engine used by Mithridates before Rhodes, cf. Appian, *Mithridatic Wars* iv. 26 f., from which passage Rossbach supplies the word here, see critical note.

huge star fell from the sky. A vision of Isis seemed B.C. 88 to attack the " harp " [1] with a thunderbolt. When Mithridates set fire to a grove of the Furies, gigantic laughter was heard, with no one to utter it. When by order of the soothsayers, he was sacrificing a maiden to the Furies, laughter issuing from the throat of the girl disrupted the rite. The fleet of Mithridates was lost in battle with the Romans off Thessaly.[2] (Silo, cf. 61a.)

CONSULSHIP OF GNAEUS OCTAVIUS AND LUCIUS CINNA B.C. 87

56a. While Cinna and Marius were displaying a cruel rage in their conduct of the civil war, at Rome in the camp of Gnaeus Pompeius the sky seemed to fall, weapons and standards were hit, and soldiers struck dead. Pompeius himself perished by the blast of a heavenly body.[3] The people wrecked his bier, and dragged his corpse with a hook, because during the peril to his fellow-citizens, he continued to avoid coming to the rescue of his endangered fatherland, although he had both magistral authority and very large forces. (*Summary* LXXIX ; Orosius V. xix. 18.)

[2] There is some confusion, grammatical as well as factual, in this statement ; cf. the critical note and Appian, *Mithridatic Wars* iv. 25 and v. 29 ; and for the opening of Mithridates' campaign, *Summary* LXXVII.

[3] This curious phrase may be found in Pliny, *Natural History* II. 108, where the L.C.L. translation is " paralysed by a star " ; and a similar phrase occurs in Petronius, *Satyricon* 2. One would suspect that it might cover many sorts of sudden seizure ; but Orosius (see reference below) and Granius Licinianus (p. 22 F) interpreted it as meaning " struck by lightning."

A.U.C. 668

L. Cinna C. Mario coss.[1]

56b. Piraeum Sylla cum oppugnaret diuturno labore,[2] unus miles eius aggerem ferens exanimatus fulmine. Aruspex respondit quod caput iacentis in oppidum versum esset, introitum et victoriam Romanis significare. Post breve tempus Athenae et Piraeum a Sylla capta. Ilio a C. Fimbria incenso cum aedes quoque Minervae deflagrasset, inter ruinas simulacrum antiquissimum inviolatum stetit spemque restitutionis oppido portendit.

A.U.C. 671

L. Scipione C. Norbano coss.

57. Per Syllana tempora inter Capuam et Vulturnum ingens signorum sonus armorumque horrendo clamore auditus, ita ut viderentur duae acies concurrere per plures dies. Rei miraculo intentius[3] considerantibus vestigia equorum hominumque et recens[4] protritae herbae et virgulta visa molem ingentis belli portendere. In Etruria Clusii mater familiae vivum serpentem peperit, qui iussu aruspicum in profluentem deiectus adversa[5] aqua natavit. Lucius Sylla post quintum annum victor in Italiam reversus magno terrori fuit inimicis. Fraude[6] aeditui Capitolium una nocte conflagravit. Syllae crudelitate

[1] L. Cinna C. Mario coss. *add. Oudendorp* : *om.* MS.
[2] diuturno labore *hic posuit Rossbach* : *ante* quod caput *infra* MS. : *ibi* haud diuturno labore *Scheffer*.
[3] intentius *Scheffer* : ĩtus MS.
[4] recens *Scheffer* : recentes MS.
[5] adversa *Stephanus* : aversa MS.
[6] Fraude *add. Rossbach* *om.* MS. culpa *add. Scaliger*

B.C. 86

Consulship of Lucius Cinna and Gaius Marius

56b. While Sulla was toiling day after day over the siege of Piraeus, one of his soldiers, who was bringing up earth for a mound, was struck dead by a thunderbolt. The soothsayer gave answer that because the head of the corpse pointed towards the city, the event indicated the entering in and victory of the Romans. After a short while Athens and Piraeus were taken by Sulla. When Ilium was burned by Gaius Fimbria, the temple of Minerva was also consumed, but amid the wreckage an image of great age remained standing unharmed, and foretold hope of restoration for the town. (*Summary* LXXXI; Ilium, fr. 17 and *Summary* LXXXIII.)

B.C. 83

Consulship of Lucius Scipio and Gaius Norbanus

57. During the era of Sulla a great clash of standards and of arms, with dreadful shouting, was heard between Capua and Volturnum, so that two armies seemed to be locked in combat for several days. When men investigated this marvel more closely, the tracks of horses and of men and the freshly trampled grass and shrubs seemed to foretell the burden of a huge war. In Etruria at Clusium a matron bore a live snake, which by order of the soothsayers was cast into a stream and swam up against the current. Lucius Sulla returned victorious to Italy after five years and greatly terrified his enemies. By the malfeasance of a temple attendant the Capitol burned down in a single night. Through the cruelty of Sulla a horrible proscription of the

A.U.C. 671 foeda proscriptio principum fuit. Centena milia hominum consumpta Italico civilique bello relata sunt.

A.U.C. 677 MAM.[1] AEMILIO D. BRUTO coss.

58. D.[2] Laelius legatus Pompei (cui prodigium Romae erat factum in lecto uxoris duo angues conspecti in diversumque lapsi, proxime Pompeio in castris sedenti accipiter super caput accesserat) in Hispania adversus Sertorium inter pabulatores occisus.

A.U.C. 678 CN. OCTAVIO C. SCRIBONIO coss.

59. Reate terrae motu aedes sacrae in oppido agrisque commotae, saxa quibus forum strata erat discussa, pontes interrupti, ripae praelabentis[3] fluminis in aquam provolutae, fremitus inferni exauditi et post paucos dies, quae concussa erant corruerunt. Saxum vivum cum provolveretur, in praecipiti rupe immobile stetit. A Sertorio in Hispania exercitus Romani caesi. Adversum Maedos[4] varie dimicatum.

[1] Mam. *Oudendorp*: Marco MS.
[2] D. *Pighius*: Didius MS.
[3] praelabentis *Jahn*: labentis MS.
[4] Maedos *Scheffer*: Medos MS.

leading citizens took place. It is recorded that B.C. 83 hundreds of thousands of persons were destroyed in the Italian and civil wars. (Battle, Augustine, *City of God* II. 25; snake, Appian, *Civil Wars* I. ix. 83, cf. Pliny, *Natural History* VII. 3 [34]; Sulla, *Summaries* LXXXV–LXXXVIII.)

CONSULSHIP OF MAMERCUS AEMILIUS AND DECIMUS BRUTUS B.C. 77

58. Decimus Laelius, a staff officer of Pompey, encountered a portent at Rome when two snakes were seen in his wife's bed, and then slipped away in different directions. As he sat at Pompey's side in camp a falcon approached above his head. Laelius lost his life among the foragers in Spain, in the campaign against Sertorius. (Frontinus, *Stratagems* II. v. 31, cf. fr. 19; Sallust, *Histories* II. 31 Maurenbrecher.)

CONSULSHIP OF GNAEUS OCTAVIUS AND GAIUS SCRIBONIUS B.C. 76

59. In Reate an earthquake disturbed holy temples in the town and country, the paving stones in the market place were thrown apart, bridges were broken, the banks of the river which flows by the city were thrown into the water, noises were heard from the lower regions, and after a few days the structures which had been shaken collapsed. While a boulder was rolling along, it stopped motionless on a steep slope of rock. Roman armies were slaughtered by Sertorius in Spain. Battles against the Maedi had various outcomes. (Cf. *Summary* XCI, if the "Thracians" there are the Maedi above.)

A.U.C. 679

C.[1] Aurelio L. Octavio coss.

60. Sertorio in Hispania exercitum ducenti tale prodigium est factum: scuta equitum parte exteriore iaculaque et pectora equorum cruenta visa. Quod prosperum sibi interpretatus est Sertorius, quia exteriora hostili sanguine maculari solent. Continua ei proelia cum successu fuerunt.

A.U.C. 681

M. Varrone C. Cassio coss.[2]

60a. Cyzicum Mithridates cum oppugnaret, Aristagorae qui in summo magistratu erat Proserpina in quiete visa est dicere adversus tibicines se tubicinem[3] comparasse. Postero die turres hostium vento disiectae sunt. Ad immolandum bos sacra iniussa de montibus per hostium classem adnatavit seque ad aras percutiendam obtulit.

A.U.C. 691

M. Cicerone[4] C. Antonio coss.

61. Fulmine pleraque decussa. Sereno Vargunteius Pompeiis[5] de caelo exanimatus. Trabis ardens ab occasu ad caelum extenta. Terrae motu Spoletum totum concussum et quaedam corruerunt. Inter alia

[1] C. *Oudendorp*: Lucio MS.
[2] M. Varrone C. Cassio coss. *Oudendorp*: *om.* MS.
[3] tubicinem *H. Haupt*: tibicinem MS.
[4] Cicerone *Muretus*: Cesone MS.
[5] Pompeiis *Scheffer*: Pompeius MS.

[1] This phenomenon (*dokos* in Greek) is mentioned by Pliny, *Natural History* II. 26 (96) and Joannes Lydus, *On Signs* 10b.

B.C. 75

Consulship of Gaius Aurelius and Lucius Octavius

60. As Sertorius in Spain was leading his troops, the following portent took place: the shields of his cavalry appeared to be bloodstained on the outside, as well as their javelins and the chests of their horses. Sertorius interpreted this as favourable to himself, because the outside is usually stained with the blood of one's enemies. He had an uninterrupted series of successful battles. (Cf. *Summaries* XCI–XCIII.)

B.C. 73

Consulship of Marcus Varro and Gaius Cassius

60a. When Mithridates was besieging Cyzicus, Proserpina appeared in a dream to Aristagoras, who held the highest magistracy, and said that she had provided a trumpeter to oppose the flute-players. On the following day, the towers of the besiegers were scattered by the wind. The heifer consecrated for sacrifice came down unbidden from the hills, swam through the hostile fleet, and presented herself at the altars for the stroke of the axe. (Plutarch, *Lucullus* x, with variations in details; cf. *Summary* XCV.)

B.C. 63

Consulship of Marcus Cicero and Gaius Antonius

61. Several things were overthrown by lightning. Vargunteius was struck dead from a clear sky at Pompeii. A fiery timber[1] stretched up into the sky from the west. In an earthquake all Spoletum was shaken and some buildings collapsed. It was

A.U.C. 661 Milvus in aede Apollinis Romae comprehensus Herennio consuli bis immolanti caput iocineris defuit. In sacro novemdiali cena deae posita a cane adesa. antequam delibaretur. Vulsiniis prima luce flamma caelo emicare visa; cum in unum coisset, os flamma [1] ferrugineum ostendit, caelum visum discedere.[2] cuius hiatu vertices flammae apparuerunt. Lustrationibus prospere expiatum. Nam totus annus domi forisque tranquillus fuit.

A.U.C. 662

C. Claudio M. Perpenna coss.

53. Bubo in aede Fortunae Equestris comprehensus inter manus expiravit. Faesulis fremitus terrae auditus. Puer ex ancilla natus sine foramine naturae qua humor emittitur. Mulier duplici natura inventa. Fax in caelo visa. Bos locuta. Examen apium in culmine privatae domus consedit. Volaterris sanguinis rivus manavit. Romae lacte pluit. Arretii duo androgyni inventi. Pullus gallinaceus quadripes natus. Fulmine pleraque icta. Supplicatio fuit. Populus Cereri et Proserpinae stipem tulit. Virgines viginti septem carmen canentes urbem lustraverunt. Maedorum [3] in Macedonia gens provinciam cruente vastavit.

[1] flamma *Oudendorp*: flammae MS.
[2] discedere *Scheffer*: descendere MS.
[3] Maedorum *Scheffer*: Medorum MS.

temple of Apollo at Rome. Though Consul Herennius offered a second sacrifice, the head of the liver failed to appear. During a nine-day ceremony, the banquet spread for a goddess was devoured by a dog before it had been tasted. At Volsinii flame was seen to flash from the sky at dawn; after it had gathered together, the flame displayed a dark grey opening, and the sky seemed to divide; in the gap tongues of flame appeared. Expiation was successfully accomplished by ceremonies of purification. For the whole year was without disturbance at home and abroad. B.C. 93

Consulship of Gaius Claudius and Marcus Perpenna B.C. 92

53. An owl was caught in the temple of Knightly Fortune and breathed its last in the hands of its captors. At Faesulae a roaring in the ground was heard. A boy was born to a maidservant with no opening in his private parts where liquid is excreted. A woman was discovered with double private parts. A meteor was seen in the sky. A cow spoke. A swarm of bees settled on the gable of a private house. At Volaterrae a stream of blood flowed. At Rome it rained milk. At Arretium two hermaphrodites were discovered. A four-footed cock was born. Several things were struck by lightning. A day of prayer was held. The people brought a collection to Ceres and Proserpina. Twenty-seven maidens sang a chant and purified the city. The tribe of the Maedi in Macedonia caused bloody havoc in the province.

A.U.C. 663

L. Marcio Sex. Iulio coss.

54. Livio Druso tr. pl. leges ferente [1] cum bellum Italicum consurgeret, prodigia multa apparuerunt urbi. Sub ortu solis globus ignis a septemtrionali regione cum ingenti sono caeli emicuit. Arretii frangentibus panes cruor e mediis fluxit. In Vestinis per dies septem lapidibus testisque pluit. Aenariae terrae hiatu flamma exorta in caelum emicuit. Circa Regium terrae motu [2] pars urbis murique diruta. In Spoletino colore aureo globus ignis ad terram devolutus, maiorque factus e terra ad orientem ferri visus magnitudine solem [3] obtexit. Cumis [4] in arce simulacrum Apollinis sudavit. Aedis Pietatis in circo Flaminio clausa fulmine icta. Asculo [5] per ludos Romani trucidati. Cum ex agris in urbem pecora armentaque Latini agerent, strages hominum passim facta. Armenta in tantam rabiem concitata sunt ut vastando suos hostile imaginarentur bellum lacrimantesque canes [6] multis affectibus calamitatem praesagirent suis.

[1] Livio Druso tr. pl. leges ferente *Leopardus* : Libius Troso P. Tarquinius leges ferentes MS.
[2] terrae motu *ed. Basileensis prima* : terremota MS.
[3] magnitudine solem *Oudendorp* : magnitudinem Solis MS.
[4] Cumis *Scaliger* : Cuius MS.

Consulship of Lucius Marcius and Sextus Julius

B.C. 91

54. While the war of Italy was gathering during the legislative activity of Livius Drusus, tribune of the commons, many portents appeared in Rome. About sunrise a ball of fire flashed forth from the northern heavens with a great noise in the sky. At Arretium, as men were breaking loaves of bread, blood flowed from the middle of them. Among the Vestini there was a rain of stones and sherds for seven days. At Aenaria a flame rising from a crack in the ground flashed up to the sky. In an earthquake around Regium part of the city and of its wall was demolished. Near Spoletium a gold-coloured fireball rolled down to the ground; increased in size, it seemed to move off the ground towards the east, and was big enough to blot out the sun. In Cumae on the citadel an image of Apollo sweated. The temple of Duty in the Circus Flaminius was struck by lightning while closed. At Asculum during a festival the Romans were massacred. As the Latins were driving herds and flocks from the country to Rome, people perished on every side. The flocks were stirred to such madness that by ravaging their masters they foreshadowed a bitter war, and dogs weeping with many signs of emotion foretold disaster to their people. (*Summary* LXXI; Regium, Strabo VI. i. 6 [258]; omens, Orosius V. xviii; Augustine, *City of God* III. 23; Florus I. xxiv. 3; Cicero, *de Divinatione* I. xliv. 98 f.)

[5] Asculo *Scheffer* : A. Sylo MS.
[6] canes *add. in scholio Rossbach* : *om.* MS.

A.U.C. 664

L. Iulio Caesare P. Rutilio coss.

55. Metella Caecilia somnio Iunonem Sospitam profugientem, quod immunde sua templa foedarentur, cum suis precibus aegre revocatam diceret, aedem [1] matronarum sordidis obscenisque corporis coinquinatam ministeriis, in qua etiam sub simulacro deae cubile canis cum fetu erat,[2] commundatam supplicationibus habitis pristino splendore restituit. A Picentibus Romani barbaro more excruciati. Ubique in Latio clades accepta.[3] Rutilius [4] Lupus spretis religionibus, cum in extis caput non invenisset iocineris, amisso exercitu in proelio occisus.

A.U.C. 666

L. Sylla Q. Pompeio coss.

56. Pompedius Silo [5] in oppidum Bovianum, quod ceperat, triumphans invectus omen victoriae hostibus ostendit, quia triumphus in urbem victricem, non victam, induci solet. Proximo proelio amisso exercitu occisus. Mithridati adversus socios bellum paranti prodigia apparuerunt. Stratopedo, ubi senatus haberi solet, corvi vulturem tundendo rostris occiderunt. In eundem locum sidus ingens

[1] aedem . . . coinquinatam . . . in qua . . . commundatam *Oudendorp*: gregem . . . coinquinatum . . . in quo . . . commundatum MS.
[2] cum fetu erat *Scheffer*: confoetuerat MS.
[3] accepta *Scheffer*: accensa MS.
[4] Rutilius *Freinshem*: Lucilius MS.
[5] Pompedius Silo *Vossius*: Pompeius Sylo MS.

B.C. 90

Consulship of Lucius Julius Caesar and Publius Rutilius

55. Caecilia Metella related that she had dreamed that Juno the Deliverer was fleeing away because her precincts were being desecrated with filth, and that Metella had by her prayers with difficulty induced her to return. Metella cleaned out the temple, which was befouled by ladies' attention to dirty and vile physical needs, and in which under the very image of the goddess, a bitch had her lair and her litter; ceremonies of prayer were held, and the temple restored to its original lustre. Romans were barbarously tortured by the people of Picenum. Disaster befell everywhere in Latium. Rutilius Lupus scorned divine lore when he had failed to find the head of the liver among the entrails; he lost his army and fell in battle. (*Summary* LXXIII; Cicero, *de Divinatione* I. ii. 4; xliv. 99.)

B.C. 88

Consulship of Lucius Sulla and Quintus Pompeius

56. Pompedius Silo entered the city of Bovianum in triumphal procession after he had captured it; he thereby displayed an omen of victory for his enemies, because a triumphal procession is customarily led into the conquering city, not the conquered. In the next battle he lost his army and fell. As Mithridates was preparing for war against the allies of Rome, portents appeared to him. At Stratopedon,[1] where the senate usually meets, crows killed a vulture by striking it with their beaks. In the same place a

[1] This is not known as the name of a place; it means "the encampment," and may be an error; but it might be a portion of Rhodes, cf. the next note.

A.U.C. 655 cantitatum. Signa cupressea duo Iunoni Reginae posita. In Lusitania prospere a Romanis pugnatum.

A.U.C. 656

Q. METELLO T.[1] DIDIO coss.

47. Bubone in Capitolio supra deorum simulacra viso cum piaretur, taurus victima exanimis concidit. Fulmine pleraque decussa. Hastae Martis in regia motae. Ludis in theatro creta candida pluit; fruges et tempestates portendit bonas. Sereno tonuit. Apud aedem Apollinis decemviris immolantibus caput iocineris non fuit, sacrificantibus anguis ad aram inventus. Item androgynus in mare deportatus. In circo inter pila militum ignis fusus. Hispani pluribus proeliis devicti.

A.U.C. 657

CN. CORNELIO LENTULO P. LICINIO coss.

48. Supplicatum in urbe quod androgynus inventus et in mare deportatus erat. Pisauri terrae fremitus auditus. Muri pinnae sine terrae motu passim deiectae civiles portendere discordias. Nursiae simulacrum Iovis in partem sinistram conversum. Cupressea simulacra Iunonis Reginae posita per

[1] T. *Oudendorp*: Tullio MS.

images of cypress were dedicated to Juno the Queen. In Lusitania the Romans conducted a successful campaign. (Titius, Valerius Maximus VIII. i. *damn.* 3, and cf. Cicero, *de Legibus* II. xii. 31 and vi. 14; *de Oratore* II. xi. 48; *Brutus* lxii. 225.) B.C. 99

CONSULSHIP OF QUINTUS METELLUS AND TITUS DIDIUS B.C. 98

47. An owl was sighted on the Capitol above the images of the gods; while expiatory offerings were being made, the bull which was being offered dropped dead. Many things were overthrown by lightning. The spears of Mars in the Regia moved. During a festival it rained white chalk in the theatre; this foretold good crops and good weather. There was thunder from a clear sky. In the temple of Apollo, as the Board of Ten was offering sacrifice, no head appeared on the liver; as they made further sacrifice, a snake was found at the altar. Likewise a hermaphrodite was carried away to sea. In the circus fire flared on the pikes of the soldiers. The Spaniards were subdued in several battles. (Static electricity in circus, cf. Seneca, *Investigations into Nature* I. 1. 14.)

CONSULSHIP OF GNAEUS CORNELIUS LENTULUS AND PUBLIUS LICINIUS B.C. 97

48. Prayers were offered in Rome because a hermaphrodite was discovered and carried out to sea. At Pisaurum a roaring in the earth was heard. The overthrow of the battlements of walls at many places, when there was no earthquake, foretold civil strife. At Nursia the image of Jupiter turned to the left. Images of cypress wood were set up to Juno

A.U.C. 657 virgines viginti septem, quae urbem lustraverunt. Celtiberi Maedi [1] Dardani subacti.

A.U.C. 658

CN. DOMITIO C. CASSIO COSS.

49. Lupus urbem ingressus in domo privata occisus. Bubo in Capitolio occisus. Fulmine pleraque decussa. Signa aurata Iovis cum capite columnaque disiecta. Faesulis sanguine terra manavit. Arretii mulieri e naso spicae farris natae, eadem farris grana vomuit. Urbe lustrata Ptolomaeus, rex Aegypti, Cyrenis mortuus S.P.Q. Romanum heredem reliquit.

A.U.C. 659

L.[2] CRASSO Q. SCAEVOLA COSS.

50. Caere lacte pluit. Lebadiae Eutychides in templum Iovis Trophonii degressus [3] tabulam aeneam extulit, in qua scripta erant quae ad res Romanas pertinerent. Fulminis afflatu pleraque animalia exanimata. Venafri hiatu terra alte subsedit. Vultures canem mortuum laniantes occisi ab aliis et comesi vulturibus. Agnus biceps, puer tribus manibus totidemque pedibus natus Ateste.[4] Hastae Martis in regia motae. Androgynus Urbino natus in mare deportatus. Pax domi forisque fuit.

[1] Maedi *Pighius*: Medi MS.
[2] L. *Jahn*: P. MS.
[3] degressus *Oudendorp*: digressus MS.
[4] Atcste *Rossbach*: At MS.: Atellae *Jahn*: *om. H. J. Mueller.*

[1] Scholars are not agreed whether *far* was true spelt (*triticum spelta*) or emmer (*triticum dicoccum*) or both. We may at least be sure that Obsequens was not scientifically precise. See N. Jasny, *The Wheats of Classical Antiquity*, Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1944, pp. 20, 120–3.

the Queen by twenty-seven maidens, who purified the city. The Celtiberians, Maedi, and Dardanians were overcome. (Celtiberians, *Summary* LXX.) B.C. 97

CONSULSHIP OF GNAEUS DOMITIUS AND GAIUS CASSIUS B.C. 96

49. A wolf entered Rome and was killed in a private house. An owl was killed on the Capitol. Several things were overthrown by lightning. Gilded statues of Jupiter were broken apart, along with their columns and capitals. At Faesulae blood trickled from the earth. At Arretium, ears of spelt [1] grew from a woman's nose, and she vomited kernels of spelt. After Rome had been purified, Ptolemy, King of Egypt, died at Cyrene and left the Roman senate and people as his heir. (*Summary* LXX.)

CONSULSHIP OF LUCIUS CRASSUS AND QUINTUS SCAEVOLA B.C. 95

50. At Caere there was a rain of milk. At Lebadea, Eutychides went down into the shrine of Jupiter Trophonius and brought out a bronze tablet, on which were inscribed matters concerning the state of Rome. Many animals were killed by blasts of lightning. At Venafrum the ground opened and sank down to a great depth. Vultures tearing a dead dog were killed and eaten by other vultures. A two-headed lamb and a boy with three hands and three feet were born at Ateste. The spears of Mars in the Regia moved. A hermaphrodite born at Urbinum was carried away to sea. Peace reigned at home and abroad. (Oracle of Trophonius, cf. XLV. xxvii. 8 and the note.)

A.U.C. 660

C. Caelio [1] L. Domitio coss.

51. Novemdiale sacrum fuit quod in Volsca gente lapidibus pluerat. Vulsiniis luna nova defecit et non nisi postero die hora tertia comparuit. Puella biceps, quadripes, quadrimana, gemina feminea natura mortua nata. Avis incendiaria visa occisaque. In Vestinis in villa lapidibus pluit. Fax in caelo apparuit et totum caelum ardere visum. Terra sanguine manavit et concrevit. Canes saxa tegulas vulgo roserunt. Faesulis ingens multitudo inter sepulcra lugubri veste, pallida facie interdiu ambulare gregatim visa. Per Nasicam Hispaniae principes qui rebellabant supplicio consumpti, urbibus dirutis.

A.U.C. 661

C. Valerio M. Herennio coss.

52. Romae et circa fulmine pleraque decussa. Ancilla puerum unimanum peperit. Fregellis aedes Neptuni nocte patefacta. Maris vituli cum exta demerentur, gemini vitelli in alvo eius inventi. Arretii signum aeneum Mercurii sudavit. In Lucanis gregem vervecum, cum pasceretur et nocte in stabulo, flamma circumdata nihil adussit. Carseolis torrens sanguinis fluxit. Lupi urbem ingressi. Praeneste lana volitavit. In Apulia mula peperit.

[1] Caelio *Hearn*: Laelio MS.

[1] For this meaning of *vitellus*, see Plautus, *Asinaria* 667 (but this may be a comic invention); the alternative is "egg yolks."

Consulship of Gaius Caelius and Lucius Domitius

B.C. 94

51. A nine-day ceremony was held because there had been a rain of stones among the Volscian people. At Volsinii a new moon was eclipsed and did not reappear till the third hour of the following day. A girl with two heads, four feet, four hands, and double female parts was born dead. A firebird was seen and killed. Among the Vestini it rained stones within a country house. A meteor appeared in the heavens, and the whole sky appeared to be on fire. The ground oozed blood and grew hard. Dogs gnawed stones and tiles at many points. At Faesulae a large crowd was seen among the graves, walking in a group by day with dark garments and pale faces. Under the leadership of Nasica the Spanish chieftains who revolted were disposed of by execution and their cities rased.

Consulship of Gaius Valerius and Marcus Herennius

B.C. 93

52. At Rome and near by many things were overthrown by lightning. A maidservant bore a son with only one hand. At Fregellae the temple of Neptune was thrown open by night. When the entrails of a bull-calf were being removed, twin calflets [1] were found in its belly. At Arretium a bronze statue of Mercury sweated. In Lucania flame surrounded, without burning anything, a flock of wethers, both while they were feeding and in the fold at night. At Carseoli a torrent of blood flowed. Wolves entered Rome. At Praeneste wool flew through the air. In Apulia a mule foaled. A kite was caught in the

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A.U.C. 662

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[1] flamma *Oudendorp*: flammae MS.
[2] discedere *Scheffer*: descendere MS.
[3] Maedorum *Scheffer*: Medorum MS.

temple of Apollo at Rome. Though Consul Herennius offered a second sacrifice, the head of the liver failed to appear. During a nine-day ceremony, the banquet spread for a goddess was devoured by a dog before it had been tasted. At Volsinii flame was seen to flash from the sky at dawn; after it had gathered together, the flame displayed a dark grey opening, and the sky seemed to divide; in the gap tongues of flame appeared. Expiation was successfully accomplished by ceremonies of purification. For the whole year was without disturbance at home and abroad. B.C. 93

Consulship of Gaius Claudius and Marcus Perpenna B.C. 92

53. An owl was caught in the temple of Knightly Fortune and breathed its last in the hands of its captors. At Faesulae a roaring in the ground was heard. A boy was born to a maidservant with no opening in his private parts where liquid is excreted. A woman was discovered with double private parts. A meteor was seen in the sky. A cow spoke. A swarm of bees settled on the gable of a private house. At Volaterrae a stream of blood flowed. At Rome it rained milk. At Arretium two hermaphrodites were discovered. A four-footed cock was born. Several things were struck by lightning. A day of prayer was held. The people brought a collection to Ceres and Proserpina. Twenty-seven maidens sang a chant and purified the city. The tribe of the Maedi in Macedonia caused bloody havoc in the province.

A.U.C. 663

L. Marcio Sex. Iulio coss.

54. Livio Druso tr. pl. leges ferente [1] cum bellum Italicum consurgeret, prodigia multa apparuerunt urbi. Sub ortu solis globus ignis a septemtrionali regione cum ingenti sono caeli emicuit. Arretii frangentibus panes cruor e mediis fluxit. In Vestinis per dies septem lapidibus testisque pluit. Aenariae terrae hiatu flamma exorta in caelum emicuit. Circa Regium terrae motu [2] pars urbis murique diruta. In Spoletino colore aureo globus ignis ad terram devolutus, maiorque factus e terra ad orientem ferri visus magnitudine solem [3] obtexit. Cumis [4] in arce simulacrum Apollinis sudavit. Aedis Pietatis in circo Flaminio clausa fulmine icta. Asculo [5] per ludos Romani trucidati. Cum ex agris in urbem pecora armentaque Latini agerent, strages hominum passim facta. Armenta in tantam rabiem concitata sunt ut vastando suos hostile imaginarentur bellum lacrimantesque canes [6] multis affectibus calamitatem praesagirent suis.

[1] Livio Druso tr. pl. leges ferente *Leopardus* : Libius Troso P. Tarquinius leges ferentes MS.
[2] terrae motu *ed. Basileensis prima* : terremota MS.
[3] magnitudine solem *Oudendorp* : magnitudinem Solis MS.
[4] Cumis *Scaliger* : Cuius MS.

Consulship of Lucius Marcius and Sextus Julius

B.C. 91

54. While the war of Italy was gathering during the legislative activity of Livius Drusus, tribune of the commons, many portents appeared in Rome. About sunrise a ball of fire flashed forth from the northern heavens with a great noise in the sky. At Arretium, as men were breaking loaves of bread, blood flowed from the middle of them. Among the Vestini there was a rain of stones and sherds for seven days. At Aenaria a flame rising from a crack in the ground flashed up to the sky. In an earthquake around Regium part of the city and of its wall was demolished. Near Spoletium a gold-coloured fireball rolled down to the ground; increased in size, it seemed to move off the ground towards the east, and was big enough to blot out the sun. In Cumae on the citadel an image of Apollo sweated. The temple of Duty in the Circus Flaminius was struck by lightning while closed. At Asculum during a festival the Romans were massacred. As the Latins were driving herds and flocks from the country to Rome, people perished on every side. The flocks were stirred to such madness that by ravaging their masters they foreshadowed a bitter war, and dogs weeping with many signs of emotion foretold disaster to their people. (*Summary* LXXI; Regium, Strabo VI. i. 6 [258]; omens, Orosius V. xviii; Augustine, *City of God* III. 23; Florus I. xxiv. 3; Cicero, *de Divinatione* I. xliv. 98 f.)

[5] Asculo *Scheffer* : A. Sylo MS.
[6] canes *add. in scholio Rossbach* : *om.* MS.

A.U.C. 664

L. Iulio Caesare P. Rutilio coss.

55. Metella Caecilia somnio Iunonem Sospitam profugientem, quod immunde sua templa foedarentur, cum suis precibus aegre revocatam diceret, aedem [1] matronarum sordidis obscenisque corporis coinquinatam ministeriis, in qua etiam sub simulacro deae cubile canis cum fetu erat,[2] commundatam supplicationibus habitis pristino splendore restituit. A Picentibus Romani barbaro more excruciati. Ubique in Latio clades accepta.[3] Rutilius [4] Lupus spretis religionibus, cum in extis caput non invenisset iocineris, amisso exercitu in proelio occisus.

A.U.C. 666

L. Sylla Q. Pompeio coss.

56. Pompedius Silo [5] in oppidum Bovianum, quod ceperat, triumphans invectus omen victoriae hostibus ostendit, quia triumphus in urbem victricem, non victam, induci solet. Proximo proelio amisso exercitu occisus. Mithridati adversus socios bellum paranti prodigia apparuerunt. Stratopedo, ubi senatus haberi solet, corvi vulturem tundendo rostris occiderunt. In eundem locum sidus ingens

[1] aedem . . . coinquinatam . . . in qua . . . commundatam *Oudendorp*: gregem . . . coinquinatum . . . in quo . . . commundatum MS.
[2] cum fetu erat *Scheffer*: confoetuerat MS.
[3] accepta *Scheffer*: accensa MS.
[4] Rutilius *Freinshem*: Lucilius MS.
[5] Pompedius Silo *Vossius*: Pompeius Sylo MS.

Consulship of Lucius Julius Caesar and Publius Rutilius B.C. 90

55. Caecilia Metella related that she had dreamed that Juno the Deliverer was fleeing away because her precincts were being desecrated with filth, and that Metella had by her prayers with difficulty induced her to return. Metella cleaned out the temple, which was befouled by ladies' attention to dirty and vile physical needs, and in which under the very image of the goddess, a bitch had her lair and her litter; ceremonies of prayer were held, and the temple restored to its original lustre. Romans were barbarously tortured by the people of Picenum. Disaster befell everywhere in Latium. Rutilius Lupus scorned divine lore when he had failed to find the head of the liver among the entrails; he lost his army and fell in battle. (*Summary* LXXIII; Cicero, *de Divinatione* I. ii. 4; xliv. 99.)

Consulship of Lucius Sulla and Quintus Pompeius B.C. 88

56. Pompedius Silo entered the city of Bovianum in triumphal procession after he had captured it; he thereby displayed an omen of victory for his enemies, because a triumphal procession is customarily led into the conquering city, not the conquered. In the next battle he lost his army and fell. As Mithridates was preparing for war against the allies of Rome, portents appeared to him. At Stratopedon,[1] where the senate usually meets, crows killed a vulture by striking it with their beaks. In the same place a

[1] This is not known as the name of a place; it means "the encampment," and may be an error; but it might be a portion of Rhodes, cf. the next note.

A.U.C. 666

caelo demissum. Isidis species visa sambucam [1] fulmine petere. Lucum Furiarum cum Mithridates succenderet, risus exauditus ingens sine auctore. Cum aruspicum iussu virginem Furiis immolaret, e iugulo puellae risus ortus turbavit sacrificium. Classis Mithridatis in Thessalia a Romanis [2] in proelio amissa.

A.U.C. 667

Cn. Octavio L. Cinna coss.[3]

56a. Cinna et Mario per bella civilia crudeliter saevientibus Romae in castris Gnaei Pompei caelum ruere visum, arma signaque tacta, milites exanimati. Ipse Pompeius afflatus sidere interiit. Lectum eius populus diripuit, corpus unco traxit, quod discrimine civili perseverasset periclitanti patriae non succurrere, cum et imperium et maximos haberet exercitus.

[1] sambucam *add. Rossbach*: *om.* MS.
[2] *ita* MS.: a Romanis *om. H. J. Mueller*: a Rhodiis *Oudendorp*: incensa alia . . . demersa *Jahn.*
[3] Cn. Octavio L. Cinna coss. *Oudendorp*: *om.* MS.

[1] This was a special giant siege-engine used by Mithridates before Rhodes, cf. Appian, *Mithridatic Wars* iv. 26 f., from which passage Rossbach supplies the word here, see critical note.

huge star fell from the sky. A vision of Isis seemed to attack the "harp" [1] with a thunderbolt. When Mithridates set fire to a grove of the Furies, gigantic laughter was heard, with no one to utter it. When by order of the soothsayers, he was sacrificing a maiden to the Furies, laughter issuing from the throat of the girl disrupted the rite. The fleet of Mithridates was lost in battle with the Romans off Thessaly.[2] (Silo, cf. 61a.) B.C. 88

Consulship of Gnaeus Octavius and Lucius Cinna B.C. 87

56a. While Cinna and Marius were displaying a cruel rage in their conduct of the civil war, at Rome in the camp of Gnaeus Pompeius the sky seemed to fall, weapons and standards were hit, and soldiers struck dead. Pompeius himself perished by the blast of a heavenly body.[3] The people wrecked his bier, and dragged his corpse with a hook, because during the peril to his fellow-citizens, he continued to avoid coming to the rescue of his endangered fatherland, although he had both magistral authority and very large forces. (*Summary* LXXIX; Orosius V. xix. 18.)

[2] There is some confusion, grammatical as well as factual, in this statement; cf. the critical note and Appian, *Mithridatic Wars* iv. 25 and v. 29; and for the opening of Mithridates' campaign, *Summary* LXXVII.

[3] This curious phrase may be found in Pliny, *Natural History* II. 108, where the L.C.L. translation is "paralysed by a star"; and a similar phrase occurs in Petronius, *Satyricon* 2. One would suspect that it might cover many sorts of sudden seizure; but Orosius (see reference below) and Granius Licinianus (p. 22 F) interpreted it as meaning "struck by lightning."

A.U.C. 668

L. Cinna C. Mario coss.[1]

56b. Piraeum Sylla cum oppugnaret diuturno labore,[2] unus miles eius aggerem ferens exanimatus fulmine. Aruspex respondit quod caput iacentis in oppidum versum esset, introitum et victoriam Romanis significare. Post breve tempus Athenae et Piraeum a Sylla capta. Ilio a C. Fimbria incenso cum aedes quoque Minervae deflagrasset, inter ruinas simulacrum antiquissimum inviolatum stetit spemque restitutionis oppido portendit.

A.U.C. 671

L. Scipione C. Norbano coss.

57. Per Syllana tempora inter Capuam et Vulturnum ingens signorum sonus armorumque horrendo clamore auditus, ita ut viderentur duae acies concurrere per plures dies. Rei miraculo intentius[3] considerantibus vestigia equorum hominumque et recens[4] protritae herbae et virgulta visa molem ingentis belli portendere. In Etruria Clusii mater familiae vivum serpentem peperit, qui iussu aruspicum in profluentem deiectus adversa[5] aqua natavit. Lucius Sylla post quintum annum victor in Italiam reversus magno terrori fuit inimicis. Fraude[6] aeditui Capitolium una nocte conflagravit. Syllae crudelitate

[1] L. Cinna C. Mario coss. *add. Oudendorp* : *om.* MS.
[2] diuturno labore *hic posuit Rossbach* : *ante* quod caput *infra* MS. : *ibi* haud diuturno labore *Scheffer*.
[3] intentius *Scheffer* : ĭtus MS.
[4] recens *Scheffer* : recentes MS.
[5] adversa *Stephanus* : aversa MS.
[6] Fraude *add. Rossbach* *om.* MS. culpa *add. Scaliger*

B.C. 86

Consulship of Lucius Cinna and Gaius Marius

56b. While Sulla was toiling day after day over the siege of Piraeus, one of his soldiers, who was bringing up earth for a mound, was struck dead by a thunderbolt. The soothsayer gave answer that because the head of the corpse pointed towards the city, the event indicated the entering in and victory of the Romans. After a short while Athens and Piraeus were taken by Sulla. When Ilium was burned by Gaius Fimbria, the temple of Minerva was also consumed, but amid the wreckage an image of great age remained standing unharmed, and foretold hope of restoration for the town. (*Summary* LXXXI; Ilium, fr. 17 and *Summary* LXXXIII.)

B.C. 83

Consulship of Lucius Scipio and Gaius Norbanus

57. During the era of Sulla a great clash of standards and of arms, with dreadful shouting, was heard between Capua and Volturnum, so that two armies seemed to be locked in combat for several days. When men investigated this marvel more closely, the tracks of horses and of men and the freshly trampled grass and shrubs seemed to foretell the burden of a huge war. In Etruria at Clusium a matron bore a live snake, which by order of the soothsayers was cast into a stream and swam up against the current. Lucius Sulla returned victorious to Italy after five years and greatly terrified his enemies. By the malfeasance of a temple attendant the Capitol burned down in a single night. Through the cruelty of Sulla a horrible proscription of the

A.U.C. 671 foeda proscriptio principum fuit. Centena milia hominum consumpta Italico civilique bello relata sunt.

A.U.C. 677 MAM.[1] AEMILIO D. BRUTO coss.

58. D.[2] Laelius legatus Pompei (cui prodigium Romae erat factum in lecto uxoris duo angues conspecti in diversumque lapsi, proxime Pompeio in castris sedenti accipiter super caput accesserat) in Hispania adversus Sertorium inter pabulatores occisus.

A.U.C. 678 CN. OCTAVIO C. SCRIBONIO coss.

59. Reate terrae motu aedes sacrae in oppido agrisque commotae, saxa quibus forum strata erat discussa, pontes interrupti, ripae praelabentis[3] fluminis in aquam provolutae, fremitus inferni exauditi et post paucos dies, quae concussa erant corruerunt. Saxum vivum cum provolveretur, in praecipiti rupe immobile stetit. A Sertorio in Hispania exercitus Romani caesi. Adversum Maedos[4] varie dimicatum.

[1] Mam. *Oudendorp*: Marco MS.
[2] D. *Pighius*: Didius MS.
[3] praelabentis *Jahn*: labentis MS.
[4] Maedos *Scheffer*: Medos MS.

leading citizens took place. It is recorded that hundreds of thousands of persons were destroyed in the Italian and civil wars. (Battle, Augustine, *City of God* II. 25; snake, Appian, *Civil Wars* I. ix. 83, cf. Pliny, *Natural History* VII. 3 [34]; Sulla, *Summaries* LXXXV–LXXXVIII.) B.C. 83

CONSULSHIP OF MAMERCUS AEMILIUS AND DECIMUS BRUTUS B.C. 77

58. Decimus Laelius, a staff officer of Pompey, encountered a portent at Rome when two snakes were seen in his wife's bed, and then slipped away in different directions. As he sat at Pompey's side in camp a falcon approached above his head. Laelius lost his life among the foragers in Spain, in the campaign against Sertorius. (Frontinus, *Stratagems* II. v. 31, cf. fr. 19; Sallust, *Histories* II. 31 Maurenbrecher.)

CONSULSHIP OF GNAEUS OCTAVIUS AND GAIUS SCRIBONIUS B.C. 76

59. In Reate an earthquake disturbed holy temples in the town and country, the paving stones in the market place were thrown apart, bridges were broken, the banks of the river which flows by the city were thrown into the water, noises were heard from the lower regions, and after a few days the structures which had been shaken collapsed. While a boulder was rolling along, it stopped motionless on a steep slope of rock. Roman armies were slaughtered by Sertorius in Spain. Battles against the Maedi had various outcomes. (Cf. *Summary* XCI, if the "Thracians" there are the Maedi above.)

A.U.C. 679

C.[1] AURELIO L. OCTAVIO coss.

60. Sertorio in Hispania exercitum ducenti tale prodigium est factum: scuta equitum parte exteriore iaculaque et pectora equorum cruenta visa. Quod prosperum sibi interpretatus est Sertorius, quia exteriora hostili sanguine maculari solent. Continua ei proelia cum successu fuerunt.

A.U.C. 681

M. VARRONE C. CASSIO coss.[2]

60a. Cyzicum Mithridates cum oppugnaret, Aristagorae qui in summo magistratu erat Proserpina in quiete visa est dicere adversus tibicines se tubicinem[3] comparasse. Postero die turres hostium vento disiectae sunt. Ad immolandum bos sacra iniussa de montibus per hostium classem adnatavit seque ad aras percutiendam obtulit.

A.U.C. 691

M. CICERONE[4] C. ANTONIO coss.

61. Fulmine pleraque decussa. Sereno Vargunteius Pompeiis[5] de caelo exanimatus. Trabis ardens ab occasu ad caelum extenta. Terrae motu Spoletum totum concussum et quaedam corruerunt. Inter alia

[1] C. *Oudendorp*: Lucio MS.
[2] M. Varrone C. Cassio coss. *Oudendorp*: *om.* MS.
[3] tubicinem *H. Haupt*: tibicinem MS.
[4] Cicerone *Muretus*: Cesone MS.
[5] Pompeiis *Scheffer*: Pompeius MS.

[1] This phenomenon (*dokos* in Greek) is mentioned by Pliny, *Natural History* II. 26 (96) and Joannes Lydus, *On Signs* 10b.

CONSULSHIP OF GAIUS AURELIUS AND LUCIUS OCTAVIUS B.C. 75

60. As Sertorius in Spain was leading his troops, the following portent took place: the shields of his cavalry appeared to be bloodstained on the outside, as well as their javelins and the chests of their horses. Sertorius interpreted this as favourable to himself, because the outside is usually stained with the blood of one's enemies. He had an uninterrupted series of successful battles. (Cf. *Summaries* XCI–XCIII.)

CONSULSHIP OF MARCUS VARRO AND GAIUS CASSIUS B.C. 73

60a. When Mithridates was besieging Cyzicus, Proserpina appeared in a dream to Aristagoras, who held the highest magistracy, and said that she had provided a trumpeter to oppose the flute-players. On the following day, the towers of the besiegers were scattered by the wind. The heifer consecrated for sacrifice came down unbidden from the hills, swam through the hostile fleet, and presented herself at the altars for the stroke of the axe. (Plutarch, *Lucullus* x, with variations in details; cf. *Summary* XCV.)

CONSULSHIP OF MARCUS CICERO AND GAIUS ANTONIUS B.C. 63

61. Several things were overthrown by lightning. Vargunteius was struck dead from a clear sky at Pompeii. A fiery timber[1] stretched up into the sky from the west. In an earthquake all Spoletum was shaken and some buildings collapsed. It was

A.U.C. 691 relatum,[1] biennio ante in Capitolio lupam Remi et Romuli fulmine ictam, signumque Iovis cum columna disiectum, aruspicum responso in foro repositum. Tabulae legum aeneae caelo tactae[2] litteris liquefactis. Ab his prodigiis Catilinae nefaria conspiratio coepta.

A.U.C. 692 D. Iunio L. Murena coss.

61a. C. Antonius procos.[3] cum in agro Pistorensi Catilinam devicisset, laureatos fasces in provinciam tulit. Ibi a Dardanis oppressus amisso exercitu profugit. Apparuit eum hostibus portendisse victoriam, cum ad eos laurum victricem tulerit, quam in Capitolio debuerat deponere.

A.U.C. 694 Quinto Metello L. Afranio coss.

62. Die toto ante sereno circa horam undecimam nox se intendit, deinde restitutus fulgor. Turbinis vi tecta deiecta. Ponte sublapso homines in Tiberim

[1] relatum *Lycosthenes* : relatu MS.
[2] caelo tactae *add. in scholio Rossbach* : *om.* MS.
[3] D. Iunio L. Murena coss. C. Antonius procos. *Jahn* : M. Cic. Gaio Antonio Coss. MS., *has lineas post res anni U.C.* 694 *ponens.*

reported among other things that two years before B.C. 63 on the Capitol, the she-wolf of Remus and Romulus had been struck by lightning, and the statue of Jupiter with its column had been broken apart, but had been replaced in the Forum in accordance with an answer of the soothsayers. Bronze tablets containing laws were struck by lightning and the letters melted. With these portents the abominable conspiracy of Catiline began. (Cicero, *Catiline* III. viii. 18–20; Dio XXXVII. xxv. 1 f.; *Summary* CII; Pliny, *Natural History* II. 52 [137] gives the name of the man killed at Pompeii as Herennius, a name otherwise attested for the town.)

Consulship of Decimus Junius and Lucius Murena B.C. 62

61a. After Gaius Antonius as proconsul had inflicted final defeat on Catiline in the neighbourhood of Pistoria, he carried his laurel-wreathed *fasces* with him into his province. There he was crushed by the Dardani and fled after losing his army. This showed that he had given an omen of victory to his enemies when he brought to them the conqueror's laurel that he ought to have deposited on the Capitol. (*Summary* CIII; cf. 56.)

Consulship of Quintus Metellus and Lucius Afranius B.C. 60

62. Although the entire day had been clear up to that time, about the eleventh hour night spread over the sky, and then daylight was restored. Roofs were thrown down by the force of a tornado. When a bridge collapsed, people were thrown into the

A.U.C. 694 praecipitati. In agris pleraeque arbores eversae radicibus. Lusitani Gallaeci devicti.

A.U.C 701 CN. DOMITIO M. MESSALA coss.[1]

63. Lupi in urbe visi. Nocturni ululatus flebiles canum auditi. Simulacrum Martis sudavit. Fulmen tota urbe pervagatum pleraque deorum simulacra decussit, homines exanimavit. Urbs lustrata. Propter dictaturam Pompeii ingens seditio in urbe fuit.

A.U.C. 700 L.[2] DOMITIO APPIO CLAUDIO coss.

64. M. Crassus ad Parthos profectus cum Eufratem transiret, multa prodigia neglexit. Cum etiam coorta tempestas signifero signum abreptum [3] mersisset gurgiti, et offundente se [4] nimborum caligine prohiberentur transire, pertinaciter perseverans cum filio et exercitu interiit.

A.U.C, 704 L. PAULO C. MARCELLO coss.

65. Mula pariens discordiam civium, bonorum interitum, mutationem legum, turpes matronarum

[1] Cn. Domitio M. Messala coss. *add. Oudendorp* : *om.* MS.
[2] L. *Oudendorp* : Gneo MS.
[3] abreptum *Oudendorp* : arreptum MS.
[4] se *add. Heinsius* : *om.* MS.

[1] Presumably a reference to Pompey's sole consulship in 52 B.C., and the riots over the trial of Milo.

[2] It is not clear why the order of years was not kept. An error in the transmission is possible, cf. critical note on 61a; or the whole account of Crassus' expedition may have been given in the year of the final disaster; Dio follows the same order as the MS. of Obsequens in reporting these prodigies.

[3] Or, " of goods," taking *bonorum* as neuter; but *interitus* suggests people rather than things, as would " decease " in English.

Tiber. In the country many trees were torn up by the roots. The Lusitanian Callaeci were subdued. (Defeat of Callaeci by Caesar, *Summary* CIII; Dio XXXVII. lviii.) B.C. 60

CONSULSHIP OF GNAEUS DOMITIUS AND MARCUS MESSALA B.C. 58

63. Wolves were seen in Rome. The mournful howling of dogs was heard by night. The image of Mars sweated. A thunderbolt strayed over the whole city, overthrowing many images of gods, and taking people's lives. The city was purified. Because of the dictatorship [1] of Pompey there was great civil disturbance in Rome. (Dio XL. xvii. 1.)

CONSULSHIP OF LUCIUS DOMITIUS AND APPIUS CLAUDIUS B.C. 54[2]

64. When Marcus Crassus was crossing the Euphrates in his campaign against the Parthians, he disregarded many portents. Even when a storm came up, tore a standard from its bearer, and sank it in the stream, and the army was prevented from crossing by a black storm fog that came pouring down on them, Crassus obstinately pushed on and perished with his son and his army. (Dio XL. xviii; Florus I. xlvi. 4; Plutarch, *Crassus* xix. 3–5; *Summary* CVI.)

CONSULSHIP OF LUCIUS PAULUS AND GAIUS MARCELLUS B.C. 50

65. A foaling mule indicated civil strife, destruction of respectable citizens,[3] the overthrow of the constitution, and unseemly child-bearing among

A.U.C. 704

partus significavit. Incendium quo maxima pars urbis deleta est prodigii loco habitum. Inter Caesarem et Pompeium bella civilia exorta.

A.U.C. 706

C. Caesare P. Servilio coss.[1]

65a. Adversus Caesarem Pompeius in [2] Macedonia cum invitatis gentibus amicis instrueret aciem, a Dyrrhachio venientibus adversa fuerunt fulmina. Examen apium in signis perniciem portendit.[3] Nocturni terrores in exercitu fuere. Ipse Pompeius pridie pugnae diem [4] visus in theatro suo ingenti plausu excipi. Mox acie victus in Aegypto occisus. Eo ipso die plerisque locis signa sua sponte conversa constat,[5] clamorem crepitumque armorum Antiochiae, bis ut curreretur in muros, auditum Ptolemaideque,[6] sonum tympanorum Pergami. Palma viridis Trallibus in aede Victoriae sub Caesaris statua intra coagmenta lapidum magnitudine matura [7] enata. C. Cornelius augur Patavii eo die, cum aves admitterent, proclamavit rem geri et vincere Caesarem.

[1] C. Caesare P. Servilio coss. *add. Oudendorp* : *om.* MS.
[2] in *add. Scheffer* : *om.* MS.
[3] perniciem portendit *Rossbach in scholio*: portendit MS. consedit *Oudendorp.*
[4] diem *Scheffer* : die MS.
[5] constat *add. Rossbach* : *om.* MS.
[6] Ptolemaideque *Rossbach* : indeque MS.
[7] matura *Freinshem* : mature MS.

matrons. A fire by which a very large section of the city was destroyed was regarded as a portentous event. The civil wars between Caesar and Pompey had their beginning. (Fragments 31 and 32; *Summary* CIX.) B.C. 50

Consulship of Gaius Caesar and Publius Servilius B.C. 48

65a. When Pompey was marshalling his line of battle against Caesar in Macedonia and had summoned some peoples friendly to himself, lightning flashes gave them an unfavourable omen as they were advancing from Dyrrhacium. A swarm of bees on the standards foretold ruin. There were panics at night in the army. Pompey himself on the day before the battle dreamed that he was being received in his own theatre with great applause. Immediately afterward he was defeated in battle, and was put to death in Egypt. On that very day, it is well known that in many places statues turned about of their own accord, battle-cries and the clash of arms were heard at Antioch, so that twice the walls were manned; the same sounds were heard at Ptolemaïs, and the noise of timbrels at Pergamum. A growing palm sprang up to full-grown size in Tralles in the temple of Victory, between the joints of the stones below the statue of Caesar. Gaius Cornelius, an augur, announced at Padua on that very day, since it was indicated by the birds, that the action was taking place, and that Caesar was conquering. (*Summaries* CXI and CXII; Valerius Maximus I. vi. 12; Florus II. xiii. 45; fragment 34.)

A.U.C. 708

C. CAESARE M. LEPIDO COSS.

66. Decem legionum [1] aquilae Gnaeo,[2] Cn. Pompeii filio, quae fulmina tenebant visae dimittere et in sublime avolare. Ipse adulescens Pompeius victus et fugiens occisus.

A.U.C. 710

C. CAESARE M. ANTONIO COSS.

67. Caesari dictatori exta sine corde inventa. Calpurnia uxor somniavit fastigium domus, quod S.C.[3] erat adiectum, ruisse. Nocte cum valvae cubiculi [4] clausae essent, sua sponte apertae sunt, ita ut lunae fulgore, qui intro venerat, Calpurnia excitaretur. Ipse Caesar viginti tribus vulneribus in curia Pompeiana a coniuratis confossus.

A.U.C. 710

M. ANTONIO P. DOLABELLA COSS.

68. C. Octavius testamento Caesaris patris Brundisii se in Iuliam gentem adscivit. Cumque hora diei tertia ingenti circumfusa multitudine Romam intraret, sol puri ac sereni caeli orbe modico inclusus extremae lineae circulo, qualis tendi arcus in nubibus solet, eum [5] circumscripsit. Ludis Veneris Genetricis, quos pro collegio fecit, stella hora undecima crinita sub septentrionis sidere exorta convertit

[1] Decem legionum *Scheffer* : decimae legionis MS.
[2] Gnaeo *add. Jahn* : *om.* MS.
[3] S.C. *Freinshem* : sicut MS.
[4] cubiculi *Scheffer* : cubili MS.
[5] eum *Scheffer* : eam MS.

CONSULSHIP OF GAIUS CAESAR AND MARCUS LEPIDUS B.C. 46

66. The eagles of ten legions seemed to Gnaeus Pompeius, son of Gnaeus, to drop the thunderbolts they held and to fly away into the sky. Young Pompey himself was defeated and killed as he fled. (Cf. *Summary* CXV; Dio XLIII. xxxv. 3 f.)

CONSULSHIP OF GAIUS CAESAR AND MARCUS ANTONIUS B.C. 44

67. Entrails without a heart were found at Dictator Caesar's sacrifice. His wife Calpurnia dreamed that the gable-top on his house, which had been added by decree of the senate, had fallen. By night when the doors of his bed-chamber were closed, they opened of their own accord, so that Calpurnia was awakened by the moonlight which streamed in brightly. Caesar himself was riddled with twenty-three wounds by the conspirators in Pompey's senate-house. (*Summary* CXVI; fr. 46.)

CONSULSHIP OF MARCUS ANTONIUS AND PUBLIUS DOLABELLA

68. In accordance with the will of his father Caesar, Gaius Octavius enrolled himself in the Julian clan at Brundisium. And when at the third hour of the day he entered Rome, surrounded by a huge crowd, the sun, enclosed within a small circle of clear and calm sky, surrounded Octavius with the end of an arc such as the rainbow usually displays in the clouds. At the festival of Mother Venus, which he conducted for the college, a comet appearing at the eleventh hour under the constellation of the Bear

A.U.C. 710 omnium oculos. Quod sidus quia ludis Veneris apparuit, divo Iulio insigne capitis consecrari placuit. Ipsi Caesari monstrosa malignitate Antonii consulis multa perpesso generosa fuit ad resistendum constantia. Terrae motus crebri fuerunt. Fulmine navalia et alia [1] pleraque tacta. Turbinis vi simulacrum, quod M. Cicero ante cellam Minervae pridie quam plebiscito [2] in exilium iret posuerat, dissipatum membris pronum iacuit, fractis humeris bracchiis capite; dirum ipsi Ciceroni portendit. Tabulae aeneae ex aede Fidei turbine evulsae. Aedis Opis valvae fractae. Arbores radicitus et pleraque tecta eversa. Fax caelo ad occidentem visa ferri. Stella per dies septem insignis arsit. Soles tres fulserunt, circaque solem imum corona spiceae [3] similis in orbem [3] emicuit, et postea in unum circulum sole redacto multis mensibus languida lux fuit. In aede Castoris nominum litterae quaedam Antonii et Dolabellae consulum excussae sunt, quibus utrisque alienatio a patria significata. Canum ululatus nocte ante pontificis maximi domum auditi,[4] ex his maximus a ceteris laniatus turpem infamiam Lepido portendit. Hostiae grex piscium in sicco reciproco maris fluxu relictus. Padus inundavit et intra ripam refluens ingentem viperarum vim

[1] et alia *add. Rossbach* : *om.* MS.
[2] plebiscito *hic posuit Scheffer* : *post* Cicero *supra* MS.
[3] spiceae . . . orbem *Scheffer* : spicae . . . urbem MS.
[4] domum auditi *Scheffer* : domum Lepidi auditi MS. : domum flebiles auditi *Jahn.*

drew the eyes of everyone. Since this star appeared B.C. 44 at the festival of Venus, it was decided to dedicate it as a crown-jewel to the deified Julius. Though Caesar himself suffered much because of the unnatural malice of Consul Antony, he showed a gallant steadfastness in withstanding him. Earthquakes were frequent. The shipsheds and many other things were struck by lightning. By the violence of a tornado a statue, which Marcus Cicero had placed before the temple-chamber of Minerva on the day before he was exiled by decree of the commons, fell on its face with its limbs detached and its shoulders arms, and head broken; this foretold disaster to Cicero himself. Bronze tablets were torn by the tornado from the temple of Loyalty. The doors of the temple of Wealth were broken. Trees were torn up by the roots, and many roofs were overturned. A meteor in the sky was seen to travel towards the west. A conspicuous star blazed up for seven days. Three suns shone, and around the lowest sun a wreath like the wreath of heads of grain flashed into view surrounding it, and afterward when the sun had been reduced to a single orb, its light was sickly for many months. In the temple of Castor some letters were struck from the names of the consuls Antony and Dolabella, which meant that both would be estranged from the fatherland. The howling of dogs was heard by night before the residence of the Chief Pontiff, and the fact that the largest dog was torn by the others foretold unseemly disgrace to Lepidus. At Ostia a school of fish was stranded on dry land when a flooding sea in turn receded. The Po overflowed, and when it returned within its banks, left a great abundance of vipers.

A.U.C. 710 reliquit. Inter Caesarem et Antonium civilia bella exorta.

A.U.C. 711 C. Pansa A.[1] Hirtio coss.

69. Caesari cum honores decreti essent et imperium adversus Antonium, immolanti duplicia exta apparuerunt. Secutae sunt eum res prosperae. C. Pansae[2] cos. statua equestris Antonii[3] domi corruit. Equus phaleratus in ipsius conspectu festinans concidit. Quidam e populo sanguine victimarum prolapsus[4] respersam cruore palmam proficiscenti dedit. Funesta haec ipsi prodigia fuerunt, qui mox adversus Antonium dimicans in mortem vulneratus est. Armorum telorumque species a terra visa cum fragore ad caelum ferri. Signa legionis quae relicta a Pansa ad urbis praesidium erat[5] veluti longo situ inductis araneis vestiri[6] visa. Fulmine pleraque icta. In castris Caesaris luce prima in culmine praetorii super linteum consedit aquila, inde circumvolantibus minoribus avibus excita de conspectu abiit. Oraculo Apollinis vox

[1] A. *add. Oudendorp* : *om.* MS.
[2] Pansae *Oudendorp* : Pansa MS.
[3] *sic* MS. : aenea *Oudendorp* : anticae *Rossbach in scholio.*
[4] prolapsus *Scheffer* : prolapso MS.
[5] erat *Scheffer* : erant MS.
[6] vestiri *M. Haupt* : venire MS.

[1] The name of Antony which appears in the Latin is an intrusion for which no wholly satisfactory remedy has been proposed; see critical note. I translate without it, which secures agreement with Dio's account.
[2] Dio interprets the portents as applying to the state.

The civil wars between Caesar and Antony had their beginning. (Octavian, Pliny, *Natural History* II. 28 (98); Suetonius, *Augustus* 95; Orosius VI. xx. 5; comet, Dio XLV. vii. 1; cf. Vergil, *Georgics* I. 463–497; Ovid, *Metamorphoses* XV. 782–98, 847–51; Lucan, *Pharsalia* I. 522–83; Lydus, *On Signs* 10b; other omens, Dio XLV. xvii; three suns, Jerome on Eusebius II, *anno* 1973 [Mai, col. 429 f.]. Cf. *Summary* CXVII.) B.C. 44

Consulship of Gaius Pansa and Aulus Hirtius B.C. 43

69. When distinctions and military authority against Antony were conferred by vote on Caesar, double entrails appeared as he offered sacrifice. Success in his undertakings proceeded to attend him. A mounted statue of Consul Gaius Pansa collapsed at his home.[1] A horse with trappings, while dashing along before his very eyes, fell dead. One of the populace slipped in the blood of the victims and gave Pansa, as he was setting out, a palm spattered with gore. These portents were deadly to the consul himself, for presently as he was fighting against Antony, he was mortally wounded.[2] A vision of armour and weapons seemed to rise with a crash from earth to heaven. The standards of the legion which had been left by Pansa as a garrison for Rome were seen to be wrapped in spiderwebs spun over them, as though from long disuse. Several things were struck by lightning. In Caesar's camp at dawn an eagle lighted on the ridge of the headquarters above the awning, and then, being disturbed by smaller birds flying around it, disappeared from sight. At the oracle of Apollo a cry was heard,

A.U.C. 711 audita: lupis rabies hieme, aestate frumentum non demessum. Veteranis Caesari consulatum flagitantibus terribilis tumultus Romae fuit. Caesar cum in campum Martium exercitum deduceret, sex vultures apparuerunt. Conscendenti deinde rostra creato consuli iterum sex vultures conspecti veluti Romuli auspiciis novam urbem condituro signum dederunt. Reconciliatione inter Caesarem Antonium Lepidum facta foeda principum fuit proscriptio.

A.U.C. 712

M. Lepido Munatio Planco coss.

70. Mula Romae ad duodecim portas peperit. Canis aeditui mortua a cane tracta. Lux ita nocte [1] fulsit ut tamquam die orto ad opus surgeretur. In Mutinensi victoriae Marianae signum meridiem spectans sua sponte conversum in septentrionem hora quarta. Cum haec victimis expiarentur, soles tres circiter hora tertia diei visi, mox in unum orbem contracti. Latinis in Albano monte cum sacrificaretur, ex humero et [2] pollice Iovis cruor manavit. Per Cassium et Brutum in provinciis direptionibus sociorum bella gesta. Notatum est prodigii loco fuisse, quod P. Titius praetor propter dissensiones collegae magistratum abrogavit; et ante annum est

[1] nocte *add. Scheffer, Rossbach*: *om.* MS.
[2] humero et *Freinsheim*: humo a MS.

"Madness of wolves in the winter, in summer no reaping of grain." When the veterans demanded the consulship for Caesar, there was a dreadful disturbance at Rome. When Caesar was parading his forces on the Campus Martius, six vultures appeared. When thereafter he mounted the Rostra after his appointment as consul, again six vultures were seen and so, by the omen vouchsafed to a Romulus, gave the starting signal to the one who was about to found the city anew. After a reconciliation had been effected between Caesar, Antony, and Lepidus, there followed an atrocious proscription of the leading citizens. (Dio XLVI. xxxiii.; xlvi. 2; Suetonius, *Augustus* 95; *Summary* CXIX.) B.C. 43

B.C. 42

Consulship of Marcus Lepidus and Munatius Plancus

70. A mule foaled in Rome by the Twelve Gates. The dead bitch of a sacristan was dragged off by a dog. Light shone so brightly at night that people got up to begin work as though day had dawned. In the neighbourhood of Mutina the memorial to the victory of Marius, which faced south, of its own accord turned towards the north at the fourth hour. While these omens were being averted by sacrifices, three suns were seen about the third hour of the day, which presently drew together into a single orb. At the Latin Festival on the Alban Mount, blood dripped from the shoulder and thumb of Jupiter while sacrifice was being offered. Campaigns were conducted under Cassius and Brutus in the provinces by plundering the allies. It was regarded as a portent that Publius Titius, as praetor, ejected a colleague from office because of disagreements; and

A.U.C. 712 mortuus. Constat neminem qui magistratum collegae abstulerat annum vixisse. Abrogaverunt autem hi: Lucius Iunius Brutus consul Tarquinio Collatino, Tib. Gracchus M. Octavio, Cn. Octavius L. Cinnae,[1] C. Cinna[2] tr. pl.[3] C. Marullo, Tullius . . .[4] Bruto et Cassio pugnam adversus Caesarem et Antonium molientibus in castris Cassii examen apium consedit. Locus aruspicum iussu interclusus interius ducto vallo. Vulturum et aliarum alitum quibus strages cadaverum pabulo est ingens vis exercitum advolavit. Puer in pompa Victoriae cultu cum ferretur, ferculo decidit. Lustratione lictor perversis fascibus lauream imposuit. Brutianis in proelium egredientibus Aethiops in porta occurrit et a militibus confossus. Cassius et Brutus interierunt.

C. Furnio C. Silano[5] coss.

A.U.C. 737 71. Sub Appennino in villa Liviae, uxoris Caesaris, ingenti motu terra intremuit. Fax caelestis a

[1] Cn. Octavius L. Cinnae *add. Rubino*: *om.* MS.
[2] C. Cinna *Scheffer*: Caecinnae MS.
[3] tr. pl. C. *Rupert*: P. Tarquinius P. MS.
[4] *lacunam ind. Jahn.*
[5] Silano *Oudendorp*: Syllano MS.

before a year had passed, Titius died. It is known B.C. 42 that no one who had deprived a colleague of office has lived for a year afterward. The following acted in this manner: Lucius Junius Brutus, as consul, with Tarquinius Collatinus, Tiberius Gracchus with Marcus Octavius, Gnaeus Octavius with Lucius Cinna, Gaius Cinna, as tribune of the commons, with Gaius Marullus, Tullius . . .

As Brutus and Cassius were strenuously preparing for battle against Caesar and Antony, a swarm of bees settled in the camp of Cassius. The place was cut off by drawing the rampart farther in, on the order of the soothsayers. A huge throng of vultures and other birds which feed on the carnage of battle flew up to the army. A boy who was being carried in procession in the costume of Victory, fell from the barrow. At the purification, the lictor placed the laurel on the *fasces* when they were reversed. As Brutus' men marched out to battle an Ethiopian met them at the gate and was stabbed by the soldiers. Cassius and Brutus perished. (Omens in Italy, Dio XLVII. xl; Titius, Dio XLVI. xlix. 1 f. [43 B.C.]; Collatinus, II. ii; Octavius, *Summary* LVIII; Lucius Cinna, *Summary* LXXIX (this instance is included neither in Dio nor the Obsequens MS., see critical note); Marullus, Dio XLIV. ix. 3–x. 3; Tullius is not identifiable; omens at Philippi, Plutarch, *Brutus* xxxix. 1–3; xlviii; Appian, *Civil Wars* IV. xvii. 134; Florus II. xvii. 7. Cf. *Summary* CXXIV.)

Consulship of Gaius Furnius and Gaius Silanus B.C. 17

71. At the estate of Livia, the wife of Caesar, in the Apennines the earth trembled in a great quake.

A.U.C. 737 meridiano ad septentrionem extenta luci diurnae similem noctem [1] fecit. Turris hortorum Caesaris ad portam Collinam de caelo tacta. Insidiis Germanorum Romani [2] circumventi sub M. Lollio legato graviter vexati.

A.U.C. 743 PAULO FABIO Q. AELIO coss.

72. In Germania in castris Drusi examen apium in tabernaculo Hostilii Rufi,[3] praefecti castrorum, consedit ita ut funem praetendentem praefixamque tentorio lanceam amplecteretur. Multitudo Romanorum per insidias subiecta est.

[1] noctem *Freinshem*: in nocte MS.
[2] Germanorum Romani *Scheffer*: Romanorum Germani MS.
[3] Rufi *Freinshem*: Rutilii MS.

A meteor reaching from south to north made night as bright as the light of day. A tower in the gardens of Caesar by the Colline Gate was struck by lightning. The Romans under the deputy Marcus Lollius were trapped into ambushes by the Germans and suffered severely. (Disaster to Lollius, 16 B.C., Dio LIV. xx. 4–6; Velleius II. 97; Suetonius, *Augustus* 23, cf. Tacitus, *Annals* I. 10. Dio LIV. xix. 7 mentions some portents omitted here.) B.C. 17

CONSULSHIP OF PAULUS FABIUS AND QUINTUS AELIUS B.C. 11

72. In Germany in the camp of Drusus, a swarm of bees settled on the tent of Hostilius Rufus, the prefect of the camp, in such a way that it enveloped the forward guy rope and the spear planted before the tent. The whole force of Romans was crushed in an ambush. (*Summary* CXLII, end; Pliny, *Natural History* XI. 18 (55). Since Pliny points out that the immediate sequel to the bees was success by Drusus, either Obsequens has picked on some details of Drusus' campaign in order to support the conventional view that a swarm of bees is a bad omen, or else, as Rossbach suggests, the disaster was that of Varus, the lapse of time being disregarded.)

FOREWORD TO INDEX

THIS is primarily an index of names. An effort has been made to include every occurrence of every proper name in the extant books of Livy, in the summaries of the lost books, in the fragments, and in the Liber Prodigiorum of Obsequens. In many cases, however, particularly with place names, large blocks of pages have been included under a single inclusive reference. On the other hand, many passages are cited where a person or place is referred to but not named. For example, Livy may recount a year's campaign in Greece without the word 'Greece' appearing a single time; and more frequent are long passages where the minor characters are named, but the principal ones are referred to simply as 'the consul' and 'the other consul.' In addition, there are many articles dealing with political, social, religious, and military antiquities. These, however, do not pretend to be exhaustive.

Names of citizens are given in the fullest form known, whether or not Livy happens to use the cognomen or cognomina of the particular individual. The names in most cases have been taken from Broughton's *Magistrates of the Roman Republic*. This work has been of the greatest value, particularly in dividing the careers of persons of like names. The alphabetizing of personal names is based first on the nomina, then the cognomina, and finally the praenomina. When these are all alike, the order is chronological. In addition, all cognomina are listed in their alphabetical places with cross references to the nomina with which they are found. Where a Roman is mentioned in an article not his own, the triple name is used. By exception, the nomina are omitted with the Cornelii Scipiones, the Quinctii Flaminini, and the Claudii Marcelli; and the chief figures of the last days of the Republic are usually called by the names in common use today (e.g., Sulla, Caesar). Philip and Antiochus without qualifying number or expression are always Philip V and Antiochus III.

Items dealing with a country or city and those dealing with its people are usually combined in a single article in a single

chronological order. Although this sometimes entails a clumsy shifting back and forth between singular and plural verbs, it should prove convenient since Livy uses the names of states and of their peoples interchangeably. In the few cases where a people play an important role quite apart from the state (as do, for example, the Numidians) they are given a separate article.

As far as practicable all items are dated. In any article items appearing before the first date are for some reason undateable. The dates should aid the user of the index in identifying the article in which he is interested, and still more in locating items within the longer articles. In the case of Romans who held office, the highest office with its date is given at the beginning of the article, unless this appears as the first item in the article.

Except in the earlier books Livy regularly makes separate mention of a man's election to an office and of his entry on the office. Unless there is special reason to note the election, the page reference to it is included with that of the entry on office, both being placed under the year of the office. Regular prorogation of office is not mentioned. It is to be assumed that a man's activities in the years immediately following a term as consul or praetor are as proconsul or propraetor unless otherwise indicated.

The index is based on the translation, the text having been consulted only when some problem was raised by the translation. Place names are given in the forms used by the translators where the latter agree. Where for a particular name different forms are used by different translators (or by the same translator on different pages), the Latin form is usually preferred, with cross references from the English or Greek forms where necessary. For headings of articles dealing with political and religious antiquities, English transliterations of Latin terms have been used when available; otherwise the Latin term has usually been kept.

RUSSEL M. GEER

I have taken advantage of the reprinting of this volume to add on pages 558–573 a table of parallel references, which will make it possible to use this Index with editions of Livy other than the present one.

1967 R. M. G.

ABBREVIATIONS

Praenomina

A.: Aulus
Ap.: Appius
C.: Gaius
Cn.: Gnaeus
D.: Decimus
K.: Caeso
L.: Lucius
Mam.: Mamercus
M': Manius
M.: Marcus
P.: Publius
Pro.: Proculus
Q.: Quintus
Ser.: Servius
Sex.: Sextus
Sp.: Spurius
T.: Titus
Ti.: Tiberius

Other Abbreviations

aed. cur.: *aedilis curulis*, curule aedile
aed. pl.: *aedilis plebeius*, plebeian aedile
c.: *circa*, about (with dates)
cens., censs.: *censor, censores*, censor, censors
cent.: *centurio*, centurion
civitas sine suf.: *civitas sine suffragio*, citizenship without vote
comit. cent.: *comitia centuriata*, assembly by centuries
comit. cur.: *comitia curiata*, assembly by *curiae*
comit. tr.: *comitia tributa*, assembly by tribes
cos., coss.: *consul, consules*, consul, consuls
cos. desig.: *consul designatus*, consul designate
cos. suf.: *consul suffectus*, consul elected to fill an unexpired term
curio max.: *curio maximus*, chief *curio*, a minor religious functionary
dict., *dictator rei gerendae causa*, dictator to govern the state
dict. clavi fig. c.: *dictator clavi figendi causa*, dictator to drive the nail
dict. comit. c.: *dictator comitiorum causa*, dictator to hold elections
is.: island
leg.: *legatus*, lieutenant, one holding delegated authority. (In the Index the abbreviation 'leg.' is used only when the term

legatus has its military meaning. For other meanings, the appropriate English word is used.)

mag. eq.: *magister equitum*, master of horse for a *dictator rei gerendae causa*

mag. eq. clavi fig. c.: master of horse for a *dict. clavi fig. c.*

mag. eq. comit. c.: master of horse for a *dict. comit. c.*

pont.: *pontifex*, pontiff

pont. max.: *pontifex maximus*, chief pontiff

pr., prr.: *praetor, praetores*, praetor, praetors

pr. pereg.: *praetor qui inter cives et peregrinos ius dicat*, praetor for judging cases involving non-citizens, ' foreign praetor '

pr. urb.: *praetor urbanus*, praetor for judging cases involving citizens, city praetor, urban praetor

pr. suf.: *praetor suffectus*, praetor elected to fill unexpired term

pref., or praef.: *praefectus*, prefect

pref. soc.: *praefectus sociorum*, prefect of allied troops

pref. urb.: *praefectus urbis*, prefect of the city (Rome)

prin. Sen.: *princeps Senatus*, senior member of the Senate

procos.: *proconsul*, proconsul

propr.: *propraetor*, propraetor

prov.: *provincia*, sphere of activity, province

qu.: *quaestor*, quaestor

rex sac.: *rex sacrorum* (or *sacrificulus*), king of sacrifices, a minor religious functionary

SC.: *Senatus consultum*, decree of the Senate

tr. (tribb.) mil.: *tribunus* (*tribuni*) *militum ad legiones*, military tribune (tribunes) serving with the legions

tr. (tribb.) mil. cos. p.: *tribunus* (*tribuni*) *militum consulari potestate*, military tribune (tribunes) with consular power

tr. (tribb.) pl.: *tribunus* (*tribuni*) *plebis*, tribune (tribunes) of the plebs

IIvir nav.: *duumvir navalis*, one of a board of two in charge of the fleet

IIvir sac.: *duumvir sacris faciundis*, member of a board of two for religious matters

IIIvir agr. assig. (dand., divid.): *triumvir* (*tresvir*) *agris assignandis* (*dandis, dividendis*), member of a board of three for assigning (distributing, dividing) lands

IIIvir col. deduc.: *triumvir* (*tresvir*) *coloniae deducendae*, member of a board of three for establishing a colony. (This is often given in the Index as ' IIIvir for ' with the name of the colony.)

ABBREVIATIONS

IIIvir mens.: *triumvir (tresvir) mensarius*, member of a board of three bank commissioners

Vvir agr. divid.: *quinquevir agris dividendis*, member of a board of five for dividing lands

Vvir mens.: *quinquevir mensarius*, member of a board of five bank commissioners

Xvir: *decemvir legibus scribendis*, member of a board of ten for codifying the laws

Xvir agr. divid.: *decemvir agris dividendis*, member of a board of ten for dividing lands

Xvir sac.: *decemvir sacrorum, decemvir sacris faciundis*, member of a board of ten for religious matters

As a matter of convenience in this Index the terms Vvir and Xvir are used for members of other boards of five or ten members performing certain designated functions.

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—, Arruns, son of Superbus: (534–510) envoy to Delphi, **1.** 195–7; (509) joins father in exile, 209; L. Junius Brutus and, slay each other, 237–9

—, Sextus, son of Superbus: (534–510) delivers Gabii to Rome, **1.** 185–9; left at Rome, 197; (510) violates Lucretia, 199–203, 207; killed at Gabii, 209

—, T., son of Superbus: (534–510) envoy to Delphi, **1.** 195–7; (509) joins father in exile, 209; (499) commands exiles at Lake Regillus, 281

— Collatinus, L., son of Egerius: (510) wagers with Tarquins on virtue of wives, **1.** 199–201; swears vengeance on Sextus, 203, 205; (509) cos., 209; resigns because of name, 223–5, **2.** 307, **14.** 317

— Egerius: nephew of Priscus, **1.** 123; (616–578) commands in Collatia, 137; (534–510) father of Collatinus, 199

— Priscus, L.: originally called Lucumo, **1.** 123; (640–616) comes from Tarquinii to Rome, 123–7, 165, **2.** 267–9; (616–578) secures throne, **1.** 127–9, 223; increases Senate, 129; adds equestrian centuries, 131–3; subdues Latins and Sabines, 129–37; builds walls,

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Teanum Sidicinum, in Campania: (216) M. Marcellus sends naval legion to, **5.** 387; (216–215) M. Junius Pera winters at, **6.** 81, 109; (211) Capuan senators executed at, **7.** 57–9. Prodigy: (166) **14.** 247

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Tarquinius, Arruns, brother of Priscus, father of Egerius, **1.** 123

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51	13.6	127	34.9	203	58.5	279	19.1
53	14.4	129	35.3	205	59.1	281	19.7
55	14.9	131	35.9	207	59.6	283	20.5
57	15.4	133	36.4	209	59.12	285	20.11
59	16.2	135	37.2			287	21.5
61	16.8	137	38.1			289	22.4
63	17.7	139	38.6			291	23.2
65	18.2	141	39.5			293	23.7
67	18.7	143	40.3	219	1.1	295	23.13
69	19.4	145	41.1	221	1.6	297	24.3
71	20.1	147	41.5	223	2.1	299	25.1
73	20.6	149	42.2	225	2.6	301	25.6
75	21.3	151	43.1	227	3.1	303	26.6
77	22.3	153	43.8	229	3.6	305	27.5

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I	ii	I	ii	II	iii	II	iii
307	27.12	413	56.15	79	22.8	185	55.8
309	28.3	415	57.4	81	23.4	187	55.15
311	29.1	417	58.7	83	24.3	189	56.6
313	29.8	419	59.4	85	24.10	191	56.11
315	30.3	421	59.10	87	25.5	193	57.4
317	30.10	423	61.1	89	26.1	195	57.9
319	31.2	425	61.7	91	26.8	197	58.4
321	31.7	427	63.1	93	27.1	199	58.9
323	32.1	429	64.1	95	28.1	201	59.4
325	32.9	431	64.8	97	28.7	203	60.6
327	33.2	433	65.3	99	29.2	205	60.11
329	33.8			101	29.7	207	61.7
331	34.3			103	30.5	209	61.13
333	34.9			105	31.3	211	62.6
335	35.2	II	iii	107	31.8	213	63.2
337	35.7	3	1.1	109	32.7	215	63.7
339	36.4	5	1.4	111	33.7	217	64.3
341	37.3	7	2.3	113	34.2	219	64.8
343	38.1	9	2.10	115	35.2	221	65.3
345	38.6	11	3.4	117	35.8	223	65.9
347	39.9	13	4.1	119	36.2	225	66.4
349	40.3	15	4.7	121	36.7	227	67.3
351	40.9	17	5.3	123	37.5	229	67.9
353	41.1	19	5.9	125	38.3	231	68.4
355	41.7	21	5.14	127	38.9	233	68.8
357	42.1	23	6.5	129	38.13	235	69.2
359	42.6	25	7.1	131	39.6	237	69.6
361	43.1	27	7.6	133	40.3	239	70.2
363	43.7	29	8.6	135	40.10	241	70.8
365	44.2	31	8.11	137	41.1	243	70.14
367	44.8	33	9.6	139	41.7	245	71.5
369	45.2	35	9.12	141	42.3	247	72.2
371	45.8	37	10.6	143	43.3	249	72.7
373	45.13	39	10.12	145	44.2		
375	46.4	41	11.4	147	44.9		
377	47.2	43	11.11	149	45.2		
379	47.7	45	12.4	151	45.9		iv
381	47.12	47	13.2	153	46.5	257	1.1
383	48.5	49	13.8	155	47.1	259	1.5
385	48.10	51	14.4	157	47.5	261	2.5
387	49.6	53	15.3	159	48.3	263	2.11
389	49.12	55	15.9	161	48.8	265	3.2
391	50.6	57	16.5	163	49.6	267	3.9
393	51.1	59	17.4	165	50.5	269	3.14
395	51.7	61	17.10	167	50.11	271	4.5
397	52.4	63	18.4	169	51.1	273	4.10
399	53.1	65	18.10	171	51.9	275	5.5
401	53.5	67	19.4	173	52.2	277	6.3
403	54.5	69	19.9	175	52.9	279	6.9
405	55.1	71	20.2	177	53.4	281	7.2
407	55.6	73	20.8	179	54.2	283	7.7
409	56.3	75	21.5	181	54.9	285	8.1
411	56.9	77	22.2	183	55.2	287	8.6

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II	iv	II	iv	III	v	III	v
289	9.6	395	42.10	37	10.7	143	41.9
291	9.13	397	43.6	39	11.2	145	42.4
293	10.4	399	43.12	41	11.8	147	43.2
295	10.9	401	44.6	43	11.14	149	43.8
297	11.6	403	44.11	45	12.6	151	44.6
299	12.7	405	45.5	47	12.12	153	45.4
301	13.2	407	46.3	49	13.5	155	46.1
303	13.8	409	46.8	51	13.13	157	46.7
305	13.13	411	47.4	53	14.5	159	47.2
307	14.5	413	48.2	55	15.6	161	47.7
309	15.4	415	48.10	57	16.1	163	48.3
311	16.1	417	48.16	59	16.6	165	48.8
313	16.7	419	49.7	61	17.3	167	49.5
315	17.7	421	49.12	63	18.1	169	50.2
317	17.12	423	50.3	65	18.7	171	50.8
319	18.7	425	51.2	67	19.2	173	51.4
321	19.5	427	51.8	69	19.9	175	52.1
323	20.3	429	52.7	71	20.5	177	52.7
325	20.9	431	53.7	73	21.1	179	52.13
327	21.5	433	53.13	75	21.8	181	53.2
329	22.2	435	54.7	77	21.15	183	53.7
331	23.1	437	55.4	79	22.5	185	54.4
333	24.1	439	55.8	81	23.3	187	55.1
335	24.6	441	56.8	83	23.11		
337	25.3	443	57.3	85	24.6		
339	25.11	445	57.10	87	25.2		
341	26.3	447	58.3	89	25.9		vi
343	26.9	449	58.12	91	26.3	195	1.1
345	27.1	451	59.5	93	26.9	197	1.5
347	27.8	453	60.1	95	27.6	199	1.11
349	28.2	455	60.5	97	27.12	201	2.6
351	28.8	457	61.4	99	28.4	203	2.12
353	29.6			101	28.8	205	3.4
355	30.3			103	29.1	207	3.10
357	30.9			105	29.7	209	4.6
359	31.2	III	v	107	30.2	211	4.12
361	31.7	3	1.1	109	30.8	213	5.7
363	32.4	5	1.4	111	31.6	215	6.6
365	32.10	7	2.4	113	32.5	217	6.13
367	33.4	9	2.11	115	33.1	219	7.1
369	33.10	11	3.5	117	33.9	221	7.5
371	34.3	13	4.2	119	34.4	223	8.7
373	35.4	15	4.10	121	35.1	225	9.2
375	35.9	17	5.4	123	35.6	227	9.9
377	36.4	19	5.10	125	36.5	229	10.3
379	37.5	21	6.4	127	36.10	231	10.9
381	38.1	23	6.10	129	37.6	233	11.6
383	39.2	25	7.1	131	38.4	235	12.2
385	39.8	27	7.7	133	39.1	237	12.8
387	40.5	29	8.2	135	39.6	239	13.3
389	41.2	31	8.8	137	39.13	241	14.1
391	41.8	33	9.1	139	40.7	243	14.7
393	42.3	35	10.1	141	41.2	245	14.12

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III	vi	III	vii	III	vii	IV	viii
247	15.5	357	1.1	463	30.17	49	11.16
249	15.10	359	1.5	465	31.1	51	12.6
251	16.3	361	2.2	467	31.6	53	12.15
253	17.1	363	2.8	469	32.1	55	13.6
255	17.6	365	2.13	471	32.8	57	13.13
257	18.2	367	3.6	473	32.15	59	14.1
259	18.8	369	4.3	475	33.6	61	14.9
261	18.14	371	5.2	477	33.14	63	15.4
263	19.6	373	5.8	479	34.3	65	16.2
265	20.5	375	6.5	481	34.10	67	16.10
267	20.10	377	6.11	483	35.2	69	17.3
269	20.16	379	7.4	485	35.8	71	17.12
271	21.6	381	8.1	487	36.3	73	18.7
273	22.3	383	9.1	489	36.10	75	19.1
275	22.8	385	9.7	491	37.2	77	19.9
277	23.5	387	10.7	493	37.8	79	20.1
279	23.11	389	10.13	495	37.15	81	20.7
281	24.6	391	11.6	497	38.5	83	21.1
283	24.10	393	11.11	499	38.9	85	21.8
285	25.5	395	12.7	501	39.6	87	22.6
287	25.11	397	12.12	503	39.13	89	23.2
289	26.6	399	13.4	505	40.3	91	23.9
291	27.4	401	13.9	507	40.8	93	23.15
293	27.8	403	14.4	509	40.15	95	24.4
295	28.3	405	14.10	511	41.1	97	24.11
297	28.9	407	15.5	513	42.1	99	24.17
299	29.6	409	15.12			101	25.6
301	30.4	411	16.4			103	25.13
303	31.1	413	17.1	IV	viii	105	26.5
305	31.7	415	17.7			107	27.5
307	32.6	417	18.1	3	1.1	109	28.1
309	33.2	419	18.9	5	1.5	111	28.8
311	33.8	421	19.3	7	2.2	113	29.6
313	34.2	423	19.8	9	2.10	115	29.14
315	34.7	425	20.4	11	3.3	117	30.7
317	35.4	427	20.8	13	3.10	119	30.13
319	35.8	429	21.5	15	4.5	121	31.6
321	36.5	431	22.2	17	4.12	123	32.3
323	36.11	433	22.9	19	5.7	125	32.11
325	37.5	435	23.4	21	6.4	127	32.18
327	37.10	437	23.10	23	6.11	129	33.7
329	38.4	439	24.7	25	7.2	131	33.13
331	38.8	441	25.3	27	7.9	133	33.20
333	39.1	443	25.9	29	7.17	135	34.4
335	39.7	445	26.2	31	8.2	137	35.1
337	40.1	447	26.8	33	8.8	139	35.7
339	40.7	449	26.14	35	8.14	141	36.2
341	40.13	451	27.5	37	9.3	143	36.9
343	40.19	453	28.2	39	9.9	145	37.5
345	41.4	455	28.7	41	10.3	147	38.1
347	41.9	457	29.4	43	10.9	149	38.7
349	42.5	459	30.3	45	11.2	151	38.12
351	42.10	461	30.10	47	11.9	153	39.4

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II	iv	II	iv	III	v	III	v
289	9.6	395	42.10	37	10.7	143	41.9
291	9.13	397	43.6	39	11.2	145	42.4
293	10.4	399	43.12	41	11.8	147	43.2
295	10.9	401	44.6	43	11.14	149	43.8
297	11.6	403	44.11	45	12.6	151	44.6
299	12.7	405	45.5	47	12.12	153	45.4
301	13.2	407	46.3	49	13.5	155	46.1
303	13.8	409	46.8	51	13.13	157	46.7
305	13.13	411	47.4	53	14.5	159	47.2
307	14.5	413	48.2	55	15.6	161	47.7
309	15.4	415	48.10	57	16.1	163	48.3
311	16.1	417	48.16	59	16.6	165	48.8
313	16.7	419	49.7	61	17.3	167	49.5
315	17.7	421	49.12	63	18.1	169	50.2
317	17.12	423	50.3	65	18.7	171	50.8
319	18.7	425	51.2	67	19.2	173	51.4
321	19.5	427	51.8	69	19.9	175	52.1
323	20.3	429	52.7	71	20.5	177	52.7
325	20.9	431	53.7	73	21.1	179	52.13
327	21.5	433	53.13	75	21.8	181	53.2
329	22.2	435	54.7	77	21.15	183	53.7
331	23.1	437	55.4	79	22.5	185	54.4
333	24.1	439	55.8	81	23.3	187	55.1
335	24.6	441	56.8	83	23.11		
337	25.3	443	57.3	85	24.6		
339	25.11	445	57.10	87	25.2		
341	26.3	447	58.3	89	25.9		vi
343	26.9	449	58.12	91	26.3	195	1.1
345	27.1	451	59.5	93	26.9	197	1.5
347	27.8	453	60.1	95	27.6	199	1.11
349	28.2	455	60.5	97	27.12	201	2.6
351	28.8	457	61.4	99	28.4	203	2.12
353	29.6			101	28.8	205	3.4
355	30.3			103	29.1	207	3.10
357	30.9			105	29.7	209	4.6
359	31.2	III	v	107	30.2	211	4.12
361	31.7	3	1.1	109	30.8	213	5.7
363	32.4	5	1.4	111	31.6	215	6.6
365	32.10	7	2.4	113	32.5	217	6.13
367	33.4	9	2.11	115	33.1	219	7.1
369	33.10	11	3.5	117	33.9	221	7.5
371	34.3	13	4.2	119	34.4	223	8.7
373	35.4	15	4.10	121	35.1	225	9.2
375	35.9	17	5.4	123	35.6	227	9.9
377	36.4	19	5.10	125	36.5	229	10.3
379	37.5	21	6.4	127	36.10	231	10.9
381	38.1	23	6.10	129	37.6	233	11.6
383	39.2	25	7.1	131	38.4	235	12.2
385	39.8	27	7.7	133	39.1	237	12.8
387	40.5	29	8.2	135	39.6	239	13.3
389	41.2	31	8.8	137	39.13	241	14.1
391	41.8	33	9.1	139	40.7	243	14.7
393	42.3	35	10.1	141	41.2	245	14.12

TABLE OF PARALLELS

III	vi	III	vii	III	vii	IV	viii
247	15.5	357	1.1	463	30.17	49	11.16
249	15.10	359	1.5	465	31.1	51	12.6
251	16.3	361	2.2	467	31.6	53	12.15
253	17.1	363	2.8	469	32.1	55	13.6
255	17.6	365	2.13	471	32.8	57	13.13
257	18.2	367	3.6	473	32.15	59	14.1
259	18.8	369	4.3	475	33.6	61	14.9
261	18.14	371	5.2	477	33.14	63	15.4
263	19.6	373	5.8	479	34.3	65	16.2
265	20.5	375	6.5	481	34.10	67	16.10
267	20.10	377	6.11	483	35.2	69	17.3
269	20.16	379	7.4	485	35.8	71	17.12
271	21.6	381	8.1	487	36.3	73	18.7
273	22.3	383	9.1	489	36.10	75	19.1
275	22.8	385	9.7	491	37.2	77	19.9
277	23.5	387	10.7	493	37.8	79	20.1
279	23.11	389	10.13	495	37.15	81	20.7
281	24.6	391	11.6	497	38.5	83	21.1
283	24.10	393	11.11	499	38.9	85	21.8
285	25.5	395	12.7	501	39.6	87	22.6
287	25.11	397	12.12	503	39.13	89	23.2
289	26.6	399	13.4	505	40.3	91	23.9
291	27.4	401	13.9	507	40.8	93	23.15
293	27.8	403	14.4	509	40.15	95	24.4
295	28.3	405	14.10	511	41.1	97	24.11
297	28.9	407	15.5	513	42.1	99	24.17
299	29.6	409	15.12			101	25.6
301	30.4	411	16.4			103	25.13
303	31.1	413	17.1			105	26.5
305	31.7	415	17.7	IV	viii	107	27.5
307	32.6	417	18.1	3	1.1	109	28.1
309	33.2	419	18.9	5	1.5	111	28.8
311	33.8	421	19.3	7	2.2	113	29.6
313	34.2	423	19.8	9	2.10	115	29.14
315	34.7	425	20.4	11	3.3	117	30.7
317	35.4	427	20.8	13	3.10	119	30.13
319	35.8	429	21.5	15	4.5	121	31.6
321	36.5	431	22.2	17	4.12	123	32.3
323	36.11	433	22.9	19	5.7	125	32.11
325	37.5	435	23.4	21	6.4	127	32.18
327	37.10	437	23.10	23	6.11	129	33.7
329	38.4	439	24.7	25	7.2	131	33.13
331	38.8	441	25.3	27	7.9	133	33.20
333	39.1	443	25.9	29	7.17	135	34.4
335	39.7	445	26.2	31	8.2	137	35.1
337	40.1	447	26.8	33	8.8	139	35.7
339	40.7	449	26.14	35	8.14	141	36.2
341	40.13	451	27.5	37	9.3	143	36.9
343	40.19	453	28.2	39	9.9	145	37.5
345	41.4	455	28.7	41	10.3	147	38.1
347	41.9	457	29.4	43	10.9	149	38.7
349	42.5	459	30.3	45	11.2	151	38.12
351	42.10	461	30.10	47	11.9	153	39.4

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IV	viii
155	39.11
157	40.3
	ix
163	1.1
165	1.7
167	2.3
169	2.10
171	3.2
173	3.9
175	4.3
177	4.9
179	5.2
181	5.8
183	6.2
185	6.10
187	7.6
189	7.14
191	8.4
193	8.13
195	9.5
197	9.11
199	9.19
201	10.7
203	11.5
205	11.11
207	12.5
209	12.11
211	13.6
213	14.1
215	14.7
217	14.15
219	15.6
221	15.11
223	16.7
225	16.13
227	17.1
229	17.8
231	17.15
233	18.5
235	18.10
237	18.18
239	19.6
241	19.12
243	20.4
245	21.1
247	22.1
249	22.7
251	23.2
253	23.11
255	24.1
257	24.8

IV	ix
259	24.15
261	25.8
263	26.7
265	26.14
267	26.20
269	27.6
271	27.11
273	28.4
275	29.2
277	29.9
279	30.4
281	30.10
283	31.7
285	31.14
287	32.3
289	32.11
291	33.7
293	34.5
295	34.11
297	34.18
299	34.25
301	35.5
303	36.3
305	36.9
307	37.2
309	37.8
311	38.1
313	38.6
315	38.13
317	39.3
319	39.10
321	40.6
323	40.14
325	40.20
327	41.6
329	41.14
331	41.20
333	42.6
335	43.3
337	43.11
339	43.18
341	43.25
343	44.8
345	44.16
347	45.6
349	45.14
351	46.2
353	46.10
	x
361	1.1
363	1.7

IV	x
365	2.4
367	2.10
369	3.2
371	4.2
373	4.9
375	5.3
377	5.9
379	6.2
381	6.8
383	7.4
385	7.9
387	8.3
389	8.11
391	9.5
393	9.12
395	10.6
397	11.1
399	11.9
401	12.1
403	12.7
405	13.6
407	13.13
409	14.6
411	14.13
413	14.21
415	15.8
417	16.3
419	17.1
421	17.7
423	18.3
425	18.9
427	19.2
429	19.10
431	19.17
433	20.2
435	20.8
437	20.15
439	21.7
441	21.14
443	22.6
445	23.4
447	23.12
449	24.6
451	24.14
453	25.4
455	25.11
457	25.18
459	26.6
461	26.12
463	27.4
465	27.11
467	28.7
469	28.14

IV	x
471	29.5
473	29.11
475	29.19
477	30.8
479	31.6
481	31.14
483	32.6
485	33.5
487	34.2
489	34.9
491	35.2
493	35.9
495	35.18
497	36.6
499	36.12
501	37.1
503	37.8
505	37.14
507	38.6
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5	1.4	111	37.6	215	4.4	321	36.4
7	2.4	113	38.7	217	5.2	323	37.4
9	3.2	115	39.4	219	5.8	325	37.11
11	4.2	117	40.1	221	6.6	327	38.6
13	4.10	119	40.9	223	7.1	329	39.2
15	5.6	121	41.4	225	7.9	331	39.8
17	5.14	123	41.11	227	8.1	333	39.16
19	6.3	125	42.1	229	8.7	335	40.1
21	7.3	127	43.5	231	9.7	337	40.8
23	8.1	129	43.13	233	10.1	339	41.7
25	8.9	131	44.3	235	10.6	341	42.5
27	9.4	133	44.8	237	11.1	343	42.11
29	10.6	135	45.6	239	11.6	345	43.5
31	10.11	137	46.4	241	12.5	347	43.11
33	11.3	139	47.1	243	12.12	349	44.6
35	11.10	141	47.6	245	13.5	351	45.6
37	12.4	143	48.5	247	14.2	353	46.5
39	13.1	145	48.9	249	14.9	355	47.4
41	13.8	147	49.7	251	14.14	357	47.9
43	14.4	149	50.2	253	15.4	359	48.5
45	15.6	151	50.11	255	15.11	361	49.6
47	16.6	153	51.7	257	16.6	363	49.14
49	17.7	155	52.6	259	17.4	365	50.3
51	18.4	157	53.2	261	18.4	367	50.9
53	18.11	159	53.8	263	19.2	369	51.2
55	19.4	161	54.3	265	19.8	371	51.9
57	19.11	163	54.9	267	19.12	373	52.5
59	20.8	165	55.6	269	20.7	375	53.5
61	21.5	167	56.1	271	21.4	377	54.1
63	21.12	169	56.8	273	22.3	379	54.8
65	22.4	171	57.6	275	22.9	381	55.4
67	23.1	173	57.13	277	22.16	383	56.2
69	24.3	175	58.7	279	23.2	385	57.1
71	25.3	177	59.4	281	23.8	387	57.6
73	25.10	179	59.10	283	24.6	389	57.11
75	26.3	181	60.7	285	24.12	391	58.7
77	26.7	183	61.5	287	25.6	393	59.7
79	27.5	185	61.11	289	25.14	395	59.12
81	28.2	187	62.6	291	26.2	397	59.19
83	28.7	189	63.2	293	27.3	399	60.7
85	29.3	191	63.7	295	27.11	401	60.12
87	30.2	193	63.14	297	28.9	403	60.19
89	30.8			299	29.1	405	60.25
91	31.5			301	29.8	407	61.3
93	31.10		xxii	303	30.3	409	61.9
95	32.6	199	1.1	305	31.1		
97	32.12	201	1.5	307	31.8		
99	33.6	203	1.11	309	32.3		
101	34.1	205	1.18	311	33.2	VI	xxiii
103	34.8	207	2.4	313	33.9	3	1.1
105	35.6	209	3.1	315	34.2	5	1.6
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13	4.5	119	34.5	223	16.1	329	47.15
15	5.5	121	34.13	225	16.9	331	48.6
17	5.11	123	35.5	227	16.17	333	48.13
19	6.3	125	35.12	229	17.5	335	49.7
21	7.2	127	36.1	231	18.4		
23	7.8	129	36.10	233	18.11		
25	8.4	131	37.8	235	19.2		xxv
27	9.2	133	38.4	237	19.10	341	1.1
29	9.9	135	38.12	239	20.7	343	1.6
31	10.4	137	39.7	241	20.15	345	1.12
33	10.11	139	40.6	243	21.4	347	2.6
35	11.5	141	41.2	245	21.12	349	3.4
37	11.11	143	41.10	247	22.7	351	3.12
39	12.7	145	42.5	249	22.14	353	4.1
41	12.15	147	42.12	251	23.4	355	4.9
43	13.5	149	43.6	253	23.11	357	5.6
45	14.2	151	43.13	255	24.7	359	6.2
47	14.10	153	44.5	257	25.4	361	6.10
49	15.4	155	45.3	259	26.3	363	6.17
51	15.11	157	45.10	261	26.12	365	7.3
53	16.4	159	46.9	263	27.4	367	7.10
55	16.11	161	47.2	265	28.1	369	8.5
57	17.1	163	48.1	267	28.9	371	8.12
59	17.9	165	48.6	269	29.6	373	9.7
61	18.4	167	49.3	271	30.1	375	9.15
63	18.10	169	49.12	273	30.10	377	10.6
65	19.2			275	31.2	379	11.3
67	19.11			277	31.11	381	11.9
69	19.17		xxiv	279	32.4	383	11.16
71	20.6	175	1.1	281	33.2	385	12.3
73	21.4	177	1.5	283	33.8	387	12.10
75	22.3	179	1.12	285	34.6	389	13.1
77	22.9	181	2.7	287	34.13	391	13.8
79	23.5	183	3.3	289	35.5	393	14.2
81	24.3	185	3.11	291	36.2	395	14.8
83	24.9	187	4.2	293	36.8	397	15.1
85	25.1	189	4.9	295	37.6	399	15.7
87	25.9	191	5.9	297	38.2	401	15.13
89	26.4	193	6.2	299	38.9	403	15.20
91	26.11	195	6.9	301	39.6	405	16.7
93	27.7	197	7.8	303	40.2	407	16.14
95	28.3	199	8.3	305	40.8	409	16.22
97	28.11	201	8.12	307	40.15	411	17.5
99	29.7	203	8.18	309	41.5	413	18.5
101	29.16	205	9.6	311	42.2	415	18.12
103	30.9	207	10.3	313	42.8	417	19.5
105	30.17	209	10.10	315	43.6	419	19.14
107	31.7	211	11.5	317	44.4	421	20.4
109	31.13	213	12.2	319	44.10	423	21.3
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475	23.3
477	24.1
479	25.1
481	25.9
483	26.7
485	26.14
487	27.8
489	28.4
491	28.12
493	29.9
495	30.3
497	31.5
499	31.14
501	32.2
503	32.9
505	32.16
507	33.6
509	34.1
511	34.9
513	35.8
515	36.4
517	37.4
519	38.4
521	39.4
523	39.12
525	40.7
527	41.6
529	42.5
531	43.7
533	44.4

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535	45.3
537	46.2
539	46.10
541	47.5
543	48.2
545	49.6
547	50.2
549	51.1
551	52.4
553	53.1
555	54.1
557	54.8
559	56.2
561	56.11
563	57.5
565	58.1
567	58.8
569	59.4
571	60.4
573	61.7
575	61.15
577	62.6
579	62.13
X	xxxv
3	1.1
5	1.5
7	2.2
9	3.1
11	4.2
13	5.2
15	5.11
17	6.4
19	7.1
21	7.7
23	8.6
25	9.3
27	10.2
29	10.8
31	11.3
33	11.10
35	12.4
37	12.13
39	13.2
41	13.8
43	14.5
45	14.12
47	15.7
49	16.5
51	16.13
53	17.7

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X	xxxv	X	xxxvi	X	xxxvi	X	xxxvii
55	18.5	159	2.2	265	37.5	369	26.12
57	19.4	161	2.8	267	38.6	371	27.5
59	20.6	163	3.1	269	39.7	373	28.2
61	20.14	165	3.9	271	40.4	375	28.11
63	21.7	167	4.1	273	40.11	377	29.7
65	22.5	169	4.9	275	41.4	379	30.4
67	23.5	171	5.5	277	42.4	381	30.10
69	24.1	173	6.3	279	43.5	383	31.7
71	25.2	175	7.1	281	43.13	385	32.5
73	25.11	177	7.7	283	44.8	387	32.12
75	26.7	179	7.15	285	45.4	389	33.5
77	27.6	181	8.1			391	34.5
79	27.14	183	9.2		xxxvii	393	35.5
81	28.4	185	9.11			395	36.3
83	28.11	187	10.4	291	1.1	397	37.1
85	29.7	189	10.11	293	1.6	399	37.7
87	30.4	191	11.3	295	2.1	401	38.4
89	30.9	193	11.11	297	2.6	403	39.3
91	31.4	195	12.7	299	3.2	405	39.9
93	31.13	197	13.4	301	3.9	407	40.3
95	32.4	199	14.2	303	4.5	409	40.11
97	32.12	201	14.9	305	5.2	411	41.3
99	33.6	203	15.2	307	6.2	413	41.9
101	34.2	205	15.8	309	6.7	415	42.4
103	34.8	207	16.4	311	7.6	417	43.3
105	35.4	209	17.1	313	7.14	419	43.9
107	35.10	211	17.7	315	8.5	421	44.7
109	35.19	213	17.14	317	9.7	423	45.8
111	36.8	215	18.4	319	10.3	425	45.15
113	37.6	217	19.3	321	10.11	427	45.21
115	38.6	219	19.11	323	11.6	429	46.7
117	39.2	221	20.5	325	11.13	431	47.3
119	40.1	223	21.3	327	12.5	433	48.1
121	40.7	225	21.11	329	13.1	435	49.2
123	41.7	227	22.8	331	13.9	437	50.1
125	42.4	229	23.5	333	14.3	439	50.9
127	42.13	231	24.4	335	15.4	441	51.5
129	43.7	233	24.11	337	16.4	443	52.1
131	44.7	235	25.4	339	16.13	445	52.8
133	45.8	237	26.5	341	17.6	447	53.4
135	46.8	239	27.8	343	18.3	449	53.11
137	47.4	241	28.4	345	18.10	451	53.18
139	48.6	243	29.1	347	19.5	453	53.27
141	48.13	245	30.1	349	20.4	455	54.6
143	49.7	247	31.3	351	20.12	457	54.13
145	50.2	249	31.10	353	21.4	459	54.20
147	50.9	251	32.4	355	22.2	461	54.28
149	51.5	253	33.3	357	23.4	463	55.4
		255	34.3	359	23.10	465	56.2
		257	34.10	361	24.5	467	56.8
	xxxvi	259	35.7	363	25.1	469	57.4
155	1.1	261	35.14	365	25.9	471	57.10
157	1.6	263	36.4	367	26.3	473	58.1

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XI	xxxviii
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11	3.3
13	3.9
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21	6.7
23	7.6
25	7.11
27	8.4
29	9.1
31	9.8
33	9.13
35	10.6
37	11.6
39	12.2
41	12.9
43	13.7
45	13.13
47	14.9
49	15.4
51	15.12
53	16.4
55	16.11
57	17.3
59	17.9
61	17.16
63	18.3
65	18.9
67	19.2
69	20.3
71	20.10
73	21.5
75	21.11
77	22.3
79	22.9
81	23.5
83	24.1
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87	25.5
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95	28.1
97	28.6
99	29.2
101	29.9
103	30.6
105	31.2
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111	33.8
113	34.3
115	34.9
117	35.6
119	36.3
121	36.9
123	37.6
125	38.1
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129	38.11
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139	40.12
141	41.5
143	41.12
145	42.5
147	42.11
149	43.3
151	43.10
153	44.6
155	45.2
157	45.9
159	46.4
161	46.11
163	47.5
165	47.11
167	48.5
169	48.11
171	48.16
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175	50.1
177	50.9
179	51.4
181	51.12
183	52.6
185	52.11
187	53.8
189	54.3
191	54.9
193	55.4
195	55.10
197	56.4
199	56.9

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203	58.1
205	58.9
207	59.3
209	60.1
211	60.9
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219	1.1
221	1.6
223	2.5
225	3.1
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231	5.4
233	5.12
235	6.1
237	6.8
239	7.3
241	8.1
243	8.8
245	9.4
247	10.4
249	11.2
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253	13.2
255	13.10
257	14.2
259	14.8
261	15.4
263	15.11
265	16.4
267	16.10
269	17.4
271	18.3
273	18.9
275	19.4
277	20.2
279	20.10
281	21.9
283	22.5
285	23.2
287	23.8
289	24.2
291	24.9
293	25.3
295	25.9
297	25.16
299	26.6
301	27.1
303	27.7
305	28.2

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307	28.8
309	29.2
311	29.9
313	30.7
315	31.3
317	31.11
319	32.2
321	32.9
323	33.2
325	33.8
327	34.7
329	35.5
331	36.3
333	36.9
335	36.15
337	37.6
339	37.14
341	37.20
343	38.8
345	39.3
347	39.9
349	40.2
351	40.9
353	41.3
355	42.2
357	42.9
359	43.3
361	44.3
363	44.10
365	45.5
367	46.3
369	47.1
371	47.8
373	48.3
375	49.3
377	49.11
379	50.7
381	51.2
383	51.9
385	52.3
387	52.8
389	53.6
391	53.14
393	54.7
395	55.1
397	55.9
399	56.6
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5	1.5

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7	2.4	113	36.4	217	10.5	323	11.1
9	3.3	115	36.10	219	10.11	325	11.7
11	4.6	117	37.3	221	11.6	327	12.6
13	4.14	119	38.1	223	12.6	329	13.1
15	5.5	121	38.8	225	13.3	331	13.8
17	5.12	123	39.6	227	14.1	333	14.3
19	6.6	125	40.4	229	14.9	335	14.9
21	7.7	127	40.11	231	15.5	337	15.5
23	8.6	129	41.4	233	15.11	339	16.4
25	8.14	131	41.9	235	16.7	341	17.1
27	9.1	133	42.3	237	17.4	343	17.8
29	9.9	135	42.9	239	18.1	345	18.6
31	10.1	137	43.1	241	18.8	347	19.6
33	10.8	139	44.1	243	18.14	349	20.3
35	11.3	141	44.8	245	19.2	351	21.3
37	12.2	143	45.3	247	19.7	353	22.1
39	12.9	145	46.3	249	20.3	355	22.7
41	12.16	147	46.11	251	20.10	357	23.6
43	13.3	149	47.1	253	21.3	359	24.3
45	14.2	151	47.7	255	21.9	361	25.1
47	14.9	153	48.5	257	22.1	363	25.8
49	15.5	155	49.6	259	22.6	365	26.1
51	15.11	157	50.6	261	23.4	367	26.7
53	16.2	159	51.4	263	23.9	369	27.4
55	16.7	161	52.1	265	23.16	371	28.1
57	17.3	163	52.6	267	24.4	373	28.9
59	18.1	165	54.2	269	24.10	375	29.3
61	18.7	167	54.9	271	24.16	377	29.9
63	19.5	169	55.8	273	25.4	379	30.5
65	20.1	171	56.7	275	26.1	381	30.10
67	21.1	173	57.2	277	27.2	383	31.3
69	21.7	175	57.7	279	27.5	385	31.9
71	22.3	177	58.3	281	27.10	387	32.6
73	22.11	179	59.2	283	28.2	389	33.3
75	23.4			285	28.11	391	34.3
77	24.1					393	34.9
79	25.2		xli		xlii	395	34.15
81	25.9	185	1.1			397	35.7
83	26.7	187	1.3	293	1.1	399	36.6
85	27.6	189	2.3	295	1.6	401	37.1
87	27.15	191	2.9	297	1.12	403	37.8
89	28.8	193	3.3	299	2.7	405	38.5
91	29.5	195	3.10	301	3.5	407	39.1
93	29.11	197	4.7	303	4.1	409	39.7
95	30.3	199	5.6	305	5.2	411	40.5
97	31.1	201	6.2	307	5.8	413	40.10
99	31.9	203	6.8	309	6.3	415	41.6
101	32.7	205	7.2	311	6.11	417	41.12
103	33.7	207	8.1	313	7.7	419	42.4
105	34.4	209	8.7	315	8.5	421	43.1
107	34.12	211	8.10	317	9.3	423	43.7
109	35.4	213	9.5	319	10.1	425	44.3
111	35.11	215	9.11	321	10.10	427	45.1

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433	46.10
435	47.5
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441	48.10
443	49.7
445	50.5
447	50.11
449	51.5
451	51.11
453	52.8
455	52.14
457	53.4
459	54.3
461	54.9
463	55.6
465	56.3
467	57.1
469	57.9
471	58.4
473	58.12
475	59.3
477	59.8
479	60.4
481	61.2
483	61.10
485	62.7
487	62.14
489	63.3
491	63.7
493	64.1
495	64.8
497	65.6
499	65.11
501	66.4
503	66.9
505	67.6

XIII	xliii
3	1.1
5	1.5
7	1.11
9	2.5
11	2.11
13	3.3
15	4.1
17	4.6
19	4.13

XIII	xliii
21	5.6
23	6.3
25	6.9
27	6.13
29	7.7
31	8.1
33	8.7
35	9.5
37	10.3
39	11.1
41	11.8
43	11.13
45	12.7
47	13.3
49	13.8
51	14.5
53	15.1
55	15.7
57	16.5
59	16.10
61	16.14
63	17.3
65	18.1
67	18.7
69	19.1
71	19.7
73	19.14
75	20.4
77	21.5
79	21.9
81	22.8
83	23.4

	xliv
91	1.1
93	1.5
95	2.1
97	2.9
99	3.3
101	4.1
103	4.9
105	5.4
107	5.10
109	6.4
111	6.12
113	7.2
115	7.10
117	8.6
119	9.5
121	9.9
123	10.6
125	11.2

XIII	xliv
127	11.7
129	12.4
131	13.4
133	13.11
135	14.3
137	14.10
139	15.1
141	16.2
143	16.7
145	17.2
147	17.9
149	18.4
151	19.4
153	19.11
155	20.3
157	21.2
159	21.10
161	22.7
163	22.13
165	23.2
167	23.10
169	24.7
171	25.3
173	25.11
175	26.6
177	26.12
179	27.6
181	28.1
183	28.8
185	28.15
187	29.7
189	30.7
191	30.14
193	31.7
195	31.15
197	32.8
199	33.4
201	33.10
203	34.7
205	35.3
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209	35.15
211	35.23
213	36.8
215	37.1
217	37.7
219	38.1
221	38.9
223	39.5
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227	40.8
229	41.4
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235	44.1
237	44.8
239	45.8
241	46.1
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251	1.7
253	2.3
255	2.9
257	3.5
259	4.2
261	5.2
263	5.9
265	6.2
267	6.9
269	7.4
271	8.5
273	9.4
275	10.5
277	10.12
279	11.2
281	11.9
283	12.5
285	12.11
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291	14.1
293	14.8
295	15.5
297	16.1
299	16.6
301	17.4
303	18.2
305	19.2
307	19.9
309	19.14
311	20.2
313	20.9
315	21.6
317	22.4
319	22.11
321	23.4
323	23.10
325	23.17
327	24.4
329	24.11
331	25.3
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335	26.2

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339	26.15	359	32.2	379	37.11	399	42.4
341	27.6	361	32.8	381	38.4	401	42.11
343	27.11	363	33.5	383	38.11	403	43.5
345	28.6	365	34.2	385	39.2	405	44.2
347	29.1	367	34.10	387	39.8	407	44.7
349	29.7	369	35.2	389	39.13	409	44.13
351	29.12	371	35.8	391	39.19	411	44.20
353	30.4	373	36.4	393	40.5		
355	31.4	375	37.1	395	41.2		

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